THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN.

IN TWO PARTS.

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M.DCC.LXXV.

WORKS

ADVERTISEMENT

READER.

I JOHN WOOLMAN, was

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

THE manuſcript JOURNAL of our late friend, JOHN WOOLMAN, was ended in England; where he alſo finiſhed all his labours. It appears, by a letter which he ſent, in his laſt illneſs, to a friend in London, that he did not intend the whole ſhould be printed, and that he deſired the ſaid friend to reviſe what he had written in this nation, and leave out ſuch parts as he ſhould think proper. It was, notwithſtanding, ſent entire, without any alteration, to America; where it was ſoon after printed, together with ſeveral Tracts which had been publiſhed in his life-time. But, as ſome paſſages in the Journal contain obſervations which appear to have been intended as private memorandums only, and others relate to circumſtances which happened in his native country, not expedient to be preſerved on record in this nation, it is apprehended that the following ABRIDGEMENT of

it will be acceptable to friends, and may be of general ſervice; and, as many weighty arguments and pertinent advices, relative to ſlavery and the oppreſſion of the Negroes in the Plantations, are contained in the Journal, it was therefore apprehended that two ſmall Tracts, on that ſubject, might be omitted in his Abridgement.

THE

THE TESTIMONY OF FRIENDS IN YORKSHIRE,

At their Quarterly-Meeting, *held at* YORK, *the 24th and 25th of the third month*, 1773, *concerning*

JOHN WOOLMAN,

Of Mount-Holly, in the province of New-Jersey, in America; who departed this life, at the house of our friend, Thomas Priestman, *in the suburbs of this city, the 7th of the tenth month*, 1772, *and was interred, in the burying-ground of friends, the 9th of the same, aged about fifty-two years.*

THIS our valuable friend, having been under a religious engagement, for some time, to visit friends in this nation, and more especially us in the northern parts, undertook the same, in full concurrence and near sympathy with his friends and brethren at home, as appeared by certificates from the monthly and quarterly meetings to which he belonged, and from the spring-meeting of ministers and elders, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey.

He arrived in the city of London the beginning of the laſt yearly-meeting, and, after attending that meeting, travelled northward, viſiting the quarterly-meetings of Hertfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Northamptonſhire, Oxfordſhire, and Worceſterſhire, and divers particular meetings in his way.

He viſited many meetings on the weſt ſide of this county; alſo ſome in Lancaſhire and Weſtmoreland; from whence he came to our quarterly-meeting in the laſt ninth month; and, though much out of health, yet was enabled to attend all the ſittings of that meeting except the laſt.

His diſorder, then, which proved the ſmall-pox, increaſed ſpeedily upon him, and was very afflicting; under which he was ſupported in much meekneſs, patience, and Chriſtian fortitude. To thoſe, who attended him in his illneſs, his mind appeared to be centered in divine love; under the precious influence whereof, we believe, he finiſhed his courſe, and entered into the manſions of everlaſting reſt.

In the early part of his illneſs he requeſted a friend to write, and he broke forth thus:

"O Lord, my God! the amazing horrors of darkneſs were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I ſaw no way to go forth: I felt the miſery of my fellow-creatures ſeparated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was cruſhed down under it: I lifted up my hand, and ſtretched out my arm, but there was

none

none to help me: I looked round about, and was amazed: In the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent; that I had called thee Father; and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me: I saw that meekness under suffering was shewed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou wast teaching me to follow him, and I said, Thy will, O Father, be done."

Many more of his weighty expressions might have been inserted here, but it was deemed unnecessary, they being already published in print.

He was a man endued with a large natural capacity; and, being obedient to the manifestations of divine grace, having in patience and humility endured many deep baptisms, he became thereby sanctified and fitted for the Lord's work, and was truly serviceable in his church: dwelling in awful fear and watchfulness, he was careful, in his public appearances, to feel the putting forth of the divine hand, so that the spring of the gospel-ministry often flowed through him with great sweetness and purity, as a refreshing stream to the weary travellers toward the city of God: skilful in dividing the word, he was furnished by Him, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, to communicate freely to the several states of the

people where his lot was caſt. His conduct at other times was ſeaſoned with the like watchful circumſpection and attention to the guidance of divine wiſdom, which rendered his whole converſation uniformly edifying.

He was fully perſuaded that, as the life of Chriſt comes to reign in the earth, all abuſe and unneceſſary oppreſſion, both of the human and brute creation, will come to an end; but, under the ſenſe of a deep revolt and an overflowing ſtream of unrighteouſneſs, his life has been often a life of mourning.

He was deeply concerned on account of that inhuman and iniquitous practice of making ſlaves of the people of Africa, or holding them in that ſtate; and, on that account, we underſtand he hath not only written ſome books, but travelled much on the continent of America, in order to make the Negro-maſters (eſpecially thoſe in profeſſion with us) ſenſible of the evil of ſuch a practice; and though, in his journey to England, he was far removed from the outward ſight of their ſufferings, yet his deep exerciſe of mind remained, as appears by a ſhort treatiſe he wrote in this journey, and his frequent concern to open the miſerable ſtate of this deeply-injured people. His teſtimony, in the laſt meeting he attended, was on this ſubject; wherein he remarked, that, as we, as a ſociety, when under outward ſufferings, had often found it our concern to lay them before thoſe in authority, and thereby, in the Lord's time,

had

had obtained relief, ſo he recommended this oppreſſed part of the creation to our notice, that we may, as way may open, repreſent their ſufferings, in an individual, if not a ſociety, capacity, to thoſe in authority.

Deeply ſenſible that the deſire to gratify people's inclinations in luxury and ſuperfluities is the principal ground of oppreſſion, and the occaſion of many unneceſſary wants, he believed it to be his duty to be a pattern of great ſelf-denial with reſpect to the things of this life, and earneſtly to labour with friends in the meekneſs of wiſdom, to impreſs on their minds the great importance of our teſtimony in theſe things, recommending to the guidance of the bleſſed truth in this and all other concerns, and cautioning ſuch as are experienced therein againſt contenting themſelves with acting up to the ſtandard of others, but to be careful to make the ſtandard of truth, manifeſted to them, the meaſure of their obedience; for, ſaid he, "that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulneſs in following the Spirit of Truth, that ſtate where our minds are devoted to ſerve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wiſdom, — this habitation has often been opened before me, as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where they may ſtand ſeparated from that which diſordereth and confuſeth the affairs of ſociety, and where we may have a teſtimony of our innocence in the hearts of thoſe who behold us."

We

We conclude with fervent deſires that we, as a people, may thus, by our example, promote the Lord's work in the earth; and, our hearts being prepared, may unite in prayer to the great Lord of the harveſt, that as, in his infinite wiſdom, he hath greatly ſtripped the church, by removing, of late, divers faithful miniſters and elders, he may be pleaſed to ſend forth many more faithful labourers into his harveſt.

Signed in, by order, and on behalf of, ſaid meeting:

Thomas Bennett,
John Storr,
Joſeph Eglin,
Thomas Perkinſon,
Joſeph Wright,
Samuel Briſcoe,
John Turner,
Joſhua Robinſon,
Thomas Prieſtman, and divers other Friends.

A TES-

A

TESTIMONY

OF THE

MONTHLY-MEETING OF FRIENDS,

Held in Burlington, *the first day of the eighth month, in the year of our Lord* 1774, *concerning our esteemed friend,*

JOHN WOOLMAN, DECEASED.

HE was born in Northampton, in the county of Burlington, and province of West-New-Jersey, in the eighth month, 1720, of religious parents, who instructed him very early in the principles of the christian religion, as professed by the people called Quakers, which he esteemed a blessing to him, even in his young years, tending to preserve him from the infection of wicked children; but, through the workings of the enemy, and levity incident to youth, he frequently deviated from those parental precepts, by which he laid a renewed foundation for repentance, that was finally succeeded by a godly sorrow not to be repented of, and so became acquainted with that sanctifying power which qualifies for true gospel ministry, into which he was called about the twenty-second year of his age; and, by a faithful use of the talents committed to him, he experienced an increase, until he arrived at the state of a father,

ther, capable of dividing the word aright to the different ſtates he miniſtered unto; diſpenſing milk to babes, and meat to thoſe of riper years. Thus he found the efficacy of that power to ariſe, which, in his own expreſſions, " prepares the creature to ſtand like a trumpet through which the Lord ſpeaks to his people."—He was a loving huſband, a tender father, and very humane to every part of the creation under his care.

His concern for the poor and thoſe in affliction was evident by his viſits to them; whom he frequently relieved by his aſſiſtance and charity. He was for many years deeply exerciſed on account of the poor enſlaved Africans, whoſe cauſe, as he ſometimes mentioned, lay almoſt continually upon him, and, to obtain liberty to thoſe captives, he laboured both in public and private; and was favoured to ſee his endeavours crowned with conſiderable ſucceſs. He was particularly deſirous that friends ſhould not be inſtrumental to lay burthens on this oppreſſed people, but remember the days of ſuffering from which they had been providentially delivered; that, if times of trouble ſhould return, no injuſtice dealt to thoſe in ſlavery might riſe in judgement againſt us, but, being clear, we might on ſuch occaſions addreſs the Almighty, with a degree of confidence, for his interpoſition and relief; being particularly careful, as to himſelf, not to countenance ſlavery even by the uſe of thoſe conveniences of life which were furniſhed by their labour.

He

He was desirous to have his own, and the minds of others, redeemed from the pleasures and immoderate profits of this world, and to fix them on those joys which fade not away; his principal care being after a life of purity, endeavouring to avoid not only the grosser pollutions, but those also which, appearing in a more refined dress, are not sufficiently guarded against by some well-disposed people. In the latter part of his life he was remarkable for the plainness and simplicity of his dress, and, as much as possible, avoided the use of plate, costly furniture, and feasting; thereby endeavouring to become an example of temperance and self-denial, which he believed himself called unto, and was favoured with peace therein, although it carried the appearance of great austerity in the view of some. He was very moderate in his charges in the way of business, and in his desires after gain; and, though a man of industry, avoided, and strove much to lead others out of extreme labour and anxiousness after perishable things; being desirous that the strength of our bodies might not be spent in procuring things unprofitable, and that we might use moderation and kindness to the brute animals under our care, to prize the use of them as a great favour, and by no means abuse them; that the gifts of Providence should be thankfully received and applied to the uses they were designed for.

He several times opened a school at Mount-Holly, for the instruction of poor friends children

children and others, being concerned for their help and improvement therein: his love and care for the riſing youth among us were truly great, recommending to parents and thoſe who have the charge of them, to chooſe conſcientious and pious tutors, ſaying, "It is a lovely ſight to behold innocent children," and that "to labour for their help, againſt that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them."

His miniſtry was ſound, very deep and penetrating, ſometimes pointing out the dangerous ſituation which indulgence and cuſtom lead into; frequently exhorting others, eſpecially the youth, not to be diſcouraged at the difficulties which occur, but preſs after purity. He often expreſſed an earneſt engagement that *pure wiſdom* ſhould be attended to, which would lead into lowlineſs of mind and reſignation to the divine will, in which ſtate ſmall poſſeſſions here would be ſufficient.

In tranſacting the affairs of diſcipline, his judgement was ſound and clear, and he was very uſeful in treating with thoſe who had done amiſs; he viſited ſuch in a private way in that plainneſs which truth dictates, ſhewing great tenderneſs and Chriſtian forbearance. He was a conſtant attender of our yearly-meeting, in which he was a good example, and particularly uſeful; aſſiſting in the buſineſs thereof with great weight and attention. He ſeveral times viſited moſt of the meetings of friends in this and the neighbouring provinces, with the concurrence of

the

the monthly-meeting to which he belonged, and, we have reaſon to believe, had good ſervice therein, generally or always expreſſing, at his return, how it had fared with him, and the evidence of peace in his mind for thus performing his duty. He was often concerned with other friends in the important ſervice of viſiting families, which he was enabled to go through to ſatisfaction.

In the minutes of the meeting of miniſters and elders for this quarter, at the foot of a liſt of the members of that meeting, made about five years before his death, we find in his hand writing the following obſervations and reflections. " As looking over the minutes, made by perſons who have put off this body, hath ſometime revived in me a thought how ages paſs away; ſo this liſt may probably revive a like thought in ſome, when I and the reſt of the perſons abovenamed are centered in another ſtate of being.—The Lord, who was the guide of my youth, hath in tender mercies helped me hitherto; he hath healed me of wounds, he hath helped me out of grievous entanglements; he remains to be the ſtrength of my life; to whom I deſire to devote myſelf in time, and in eternity."—*Signed*, John Woolman.

In the twelfth month, 1771, he acquainted this meeting that he found his mind drawn towards a religious viſit to friends in ſome parts of England, particularly in Yorkſhire. In the firſt month, 1772, he obtained our certificate, which was approved and endorſed by

our

our quarterly meeting, and by the half year's meeting of miniſters and elders at Philadelphia. He embarked on his voyage in the fifth, and arrived in London in the ſixth, month following, at the time of their annual meeting in that city. During his ſhort viſit to friends in that kingdom, we are informed that his ſervices were acceptable and edifying. In his laſt illneſs he uttered many lively and comfortable expreſſions, being "perfectly reſigned, having no will either to live or die," as appears by the teſtimony of friends at York in Great-Britain, in the ſuburbs whereof, at the houſe of our friend, Thomas Prieſtman, he died of the ſmall-pox, on the ſeventh day of the tenth month, 1772, and was buried in friends burying-ground in that city, on the ninth of the ſame, after a large and ſolid meeting held on the occaſion at their great meeting-houſe, aged near fifty-two years; a miniſter upwards of thirty years, during which time he belonged to Mount-Holly particular meeting, which he diligently attended when at home and in health of body, and his labours of love, and pious care for the proſperity of friends in the bleſſed truth, we hope may not be forgotten, but that his good works may be remembered to edification.

Signed in, and by order of, the ſaid meeting, by

SAMUEL ALLINSON, *Clerk.*

Read and approved at our quarterly-meeting, held at Burlington the 29th of the 8th month, 1774.

Signed, by order of ſaid meeting,

DANIEL SMITH, *Clerk.*

A

JOURNAL

OF THE

LIFE, GOSPEL-LABOURS,

AND

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES,

OF THAT

FAITHFUL MINISTER

OF

JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN WOOLMAN;

Late of MOUNT-HOLLY, in the Province of NEW-JERSEY.

ISAIAH XXXII. 17.

The work of righteousneſs ſhall be peace; and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY T. LETCHWORTH,
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M.DCC.LXXV.

A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE AND TRAVELS OF JOHN WOOLMAN,

IN THE SERVICE OF THE GOSPEL.

CHAP. I.

His birth and parentage, with ſome account of the operations of divine grace on his mind in his youth.—His firſt appearance in the miniſtry—And his conſiderations, while young, on the keeping of ſlaves.

I HAVE often felt a motion of love to leave ſome hints in writing of my experience of the goodneſs of God; and now, in the thirty-ſixth year of my age, I begin this work.

I was born in Northampton, in Burlington county, Weſt-Jerſey, in the year 1720; and before I was ſeven years old I began to

be acquainted with the operations of divine love. Through the care of my parents, I was taught to read nearly as ſoon as I was capable of it; and, as I went from ſchool one ſeventh day, I remember, while my companions went to play by the way, I went forward out of ſight, and, ſitting down, I read the 22d chapter of the Revelations. "He ſhewed me a "pure river of water of life, clear as chryſ-"tal, proceeding out of the throne of God "and of the Lamb, *&c.*" and, in reading it, my mind was drawn to ſeek after that pure habitation, which, I then believed, God had prepared for his ſervants. The place where I ſat, and the ſweetneſs that attended my mind, remain freſh in my memory.

This, and the like gracious viſitations, had that effect upon me, that, when boys uſed ill language, it troubled me; and, through the continued mercies of God, I was preſerved from it.

The pious inſtructions of my parents were often freſh in my mind when I happened to be among wicked children, and were of uſe to me. My parents, having a large family of children, uſed frequently, on firſt days, after meeting, to put us to read in the holy ſcriptures, or ſome religious books, one after another, the reſt ſitting by without much converſation; which, I have ſince often thought, was a good practice. From what I had read and heard, I believed there had been, in paſt ages, people who walked in uprightneſs before God, in a degree, exceeding any that I knew, or

heard

heard of, now living: and the apprehenſion of there being leſs ſteadineſs and firmneſs, amongſt people in this age than in paſt ages, often troubled me while I was a child.

A thing remarkable in my childhood was, that once, going to a neighbour's houſe, I ſaw, on the way, a robin ſitting on her neſt, and as I came near ſhe went off, but, having young ones, flew about, and with many cries expreſſed her concern for them; I ſtood and threw ſtones at her, till, one ſtriking her, ſhe fell down dead: at firſt I was pleaſed with the exploit, but after a few minutes was ſeized with horror, as having, in a ſportive way, killed an innocent creature while ſhe was careful for her young: I beheld her lying dead, and thought thoſe young ones, for which ſhe was ſo careful, muſt now periſh for want of their dam to nouriſh them; and, after ſome painful conſiderations on the ſubject, I climbed up the tree, took all the young birds, and killed them; ſuppoſing that better than to leave them to pine away and die miſerably: and believed, in this caſe, that ſcripture-proverb was fulfilled, "The "tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." I then went on my errand, but, for ſome hours, could think of little elſe but the cruelties I had commited, and was much troubled. Thus He, whoſe tender mercies are over all his works, hath placed a principle in the human mind, which incites to exerciſe goodneſs towards every living creature; and, this being ſingly attended to, people become

become tender-hearted and ſympathiſing; but, being frequently and totally rejected, the mind becomes ſhut up in a contrary diſpoſition.

About the twelfth year of my age, my father being abroad, my mother reproved me for ſome miſconduct, to which I made an undutiful reply; and, the next firſt day, as I was with my father returning from meeting, he told me he underſtood I had behaved amiſs to my mother, and adviſed me to be more careful in future. I knew myſelf blameable, and in ſhame and confuſion remained ſilent. Being thus awakened to a ſenſe of my wickedneſs, I felt remorſe in my mind, and, getting home, I retired and prayed to the Lord to forgive me; and do not remember that I ever, after that, ſpoke unhandſomely to either of my parents, however fooliſh in ſome other things.

Having attained the age of ſixteen years, I began to love wanton company; and though I was preſerved from profane language, or ſcandalous conduct, ſtill I perceived a plant in me which produced much wild grapes; yet my merciful Father forſook me not utterly, but, at times, through his grace, I was brought ſeriouſly to conſider my ways; and the ſight of my backſlidings affected me with ſorrow; but, for want of rightly attending to the reproofs of inſtruction, vanity was added to vanity, and repentance to repentance: upon the whole, my mind was more and more alienated from the truth, and I haſtened toward

ward deſtruction. While I meditate on the gulph towards which I travelled, and reflect on my youthful diſobedience, for theſe things I weep, mine eyes run down with water.

Advancing in age, the number of my acquaintances increaſed, and thereby my way grew more difficult: though I had found comfort in reading the holy ſcriptures, and thinking on heavenly things, I was now eſtranged therefrom: I knew I was going from the flock of Chriſt, and had no reſolution to return; hence ſerious reflections were uneaſy to me, and youthful vanities and diverſions my greateſt pleaſure. Running in this road I found many like myſelf; and we aſſociated in that which is reverſe to true friendſhip.

But in this ſwift race it pleaſed God to viſit me with ſickneſs, ſo that I doubted of recovering; and then did darkneſs, horror, and amazement, with full force, ſeize me, even when my pain and diſtreſs of body was very great. I thought it would have been better for me never to have had a being, than to ſee the day which I now ſaw. I was filled with confuſion; and in great affliction, both of mind and body, I lay and bewailed myſelf. I had not confidence to lift up my cries to God, whom I had thus offended; but, in a deep ſenſe of my great folly, I was humbled before him: and, at length, that Word which is as a fire and a hammer, broke and diſſolved my rebellious heart, and then my cries were put up in contrition; and in the

multitude of his mercies I found inward relief, and felt a cloſe engagement, that, if he was pleaſed to reſtore my health, I might walk humbly before him.

After my recovery, this exerciſe remained with me a conſiderable time; but, by degrees, giving way to youthful vanities, they gained ſtrength, and, getting with wanton young people, I loſt ground. The Lord had been very gracious, and ſpoke peace to me in the time of my diſtreſs; and I now moſt ungratefully turned again to folly; on which account, at times, I felt ſharp reproof. I was not ſo hardy as to commit things ſcandalous; but to exceed in vanity, and promote mirth, was my chief ſtudy. Still I retained a love for pious people, and their company brought an awe upon me. My dear parents, ſeveral times, admoniſhed me in the fear of the Lord, and their admonition entered into my heart, and had a good effect for a ſeaſon; but, not getting deep enough to pray rightly, the tempter, when he came, found entrance. I remember once, having ſpent a part of the day in wantonneſs, as I went to bed at night, there lay in a window, near my bed, a bible, which I opened, and firſt caſt my eye on this text, "we lie down in our "ſhame, and our confuſion covers us;" this I knew to be my caſe: and, meeting with ſo unexpected a reproof, I was ſomewhat affected with it, and went to bed under remorſe of conſcience; which I ſoon caſt off again.

Thus

Thus time paſſed on: my heart was repleniſhed with mirth and wantonneſs, and pleaſing ſcenes of vanity were preſented to my imagination, till I attained the age of eighteen years; near which time I felt the judgements of God, in my ſoul, like a conſuming fire; and, looking over my paſt life, the proſpect was moving. — I was often ſad, and longed to be delivered from thoſe vanities; then again, my heart was ſtrongly inclined to them, and there was in me a ſore conflict: at times I turned to folly, and then, again, ſorrow and confuſion took hold of me. In a while, I reſolved totally to leave off ſome of my vanities; but there was a ſecret reſerve, in my heart, of the more refined part of them, and I was not low enough to find true peace. Thus, for ſome months, I had great troubles; there remaining in me an unſubjected will, which rendered my labours fruitleſs, till at length, through the merciful continuance of heavenly viſitations, I was made to bow down in ſpirit before the Lord. I remember one evening I had ſpent ſome time in reading a pious author; and walking out alone, I humbly prayed to the Lord for his help, that I might be delivered from all thoſe vanities which ſo enſnared me. Thus, being brought low, he helped me; and, as I learned to bear the croſs, I felt refreſhment to come from his preſence; but, not keeping in that ſtrength which gave victory, I loſt ground again; the ſenſe of which greatly affected me: and I ſought deſarts and lonely places,

and

and there, with tears, did confeſs my ſins to God, and humbly craved help of him. And, I may ſay, with reverence, he was near to me in my troubles, and in thoſe times of humiliation opened my ear to diſcipline. I was now led to look ſeriouſly at the means by which I was drawn from the pure truth, and learned this, that, if I would live in the life which the faithful ſervants of God lived in, I muſt not go into company as heretofore in my own will; but all the cravings of ſenſe muſt be governed by a divine principle. In times of ſorrow and abaſement theſe inſtructions were ſealed upon me, and I felt the power of Chriſt prevail over ſelfiſh deſires, ſo that I was preſerved in a good degree of ſteadineſs; and, being young, and believing, at that time, that a ſingle life was beſt for me, I was ſtrengthened to keep from ſuch company as had often been a ſnare to me.

I kept ſteadily to meetings; ſpent firſt days afternoons chiefly in reading the ſcriptures and other good books; and was early convinced, in my mind, that true religion conſiſted in an inward life, wherein the heart doth love and reverence God the Creator, and learns to exerciſe true juſtice and goodneſs, not only toward all men, but alſo toward the brute creatures.—That, as the mind was moved, by an inward principle, to love God as an inviſible incomprehenſible Being, by the ſame principle it was moved to love him in all his manifeſtations in the viſible world.—That, as by his breath the flame of life was kindled in

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all animal ſenſible creatures, to ſay we love God, and, at the ſame time, exerciſe cruelty toward the leaſt creature, is a contradiction in itſelf.

I found no narrowneſs reſpecting ſects and opinions; but believed, that ſincere upright-hearted people, in every ſociety who truly love God, were accepted of him.

As I lived under the croſs, and ſimply followed the openings of truth, my mind, from day to day, was more enlightened; my former acquaintance were left to judge of me as they would, for I found it ſafeſt for me to live in private, and keep theſe things ſealed up in my own breaſt. While I ſilently ponder on that change wrought in me, I find no language equal to it, nor any means to convey to another a clear idea of it. I looked upon the works of God in this viſible creation, and an awfulneſs covered me; my heart was tender and often contrite, and univerſal love to my fellow-creatures increaſed in me: this will be underſtood by ſuch as have trodden the ſame path. Some glances of real beauty may be ſeen in their faces, who dwell in true meekneſs.

There is a harmony in the ſound of that voice to which divine love gives utterance, and ſome appearance of right order in their temper and conduct, whoſe paſſions are regulated; yet all theſe do not fully ſhew forth that inward life to ſuch as have not felt it: but this white ſtone and new name is known rightly to ſuch only as have it.

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Though I had been thus ſtrengthened to bear the croſs, I ſtill found myſelf in great danger, having many weakneſſes attending me, and ſtrong temptations to wreſtle with; in the feeling whereof I frequently withdrew into private places, and often with tears beſought the Lord to help me, whoſe gracious ear was open to my cry.

All this time I lived with my parents, and wrought on the plantation; and, having had ſchooling pretty well for a planter, I uſed to improve it in winter-evenings, and other leiſure times; and, being now in the twenty-firſt year of my age, a man, in much buſineſs at ſhop-keeping and baking, aſked me, if I would hire with him to tend ſhop and keep books. I acquainted my father with the propoſal; and, after ſome deliberation, it was agreed for me to go.

At home I had lived retired; and now, having a proſpect of being much in the way of company, I felt frequent and fervent cries in my heart to God, the father of mercies, that he would preſerve me from all corruption; that, in this more public employment, I might ſerve him, my gracious Redeemer, in that humility and ſelf-denial, with which I had been, in a ſmall degree, exerciſed in a more private life. The man, who employed me, furniſhed a ſhop in Mount-Holly, about five miles from my father's houſe, and ſix from his own; and there I lived alone, and tended his ſhop. Shortly after my ſettlement here I was viſited by ſeveral young people,

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my former acquaintance, who knew not but vanities would be as agreeable to me now as ever; and, at theſe times, I cried to the Lord, in ſecret, for wiſdom and ſtrength; for I felt myſelf encompaſſed with difficulties, and had freſh occaſion to bewail the follies of time paſt, in contracting a familiarity with libertine people: and, as I had now left my father's houſe outwardly, I found my heavenly Father to be merciful to me beyond what I can expreſs.

By day I was much amongſt people, and had many trials to go through; but, in the evenings, I was moſtly alone, and may with thankfulneſs acknowledge, that, in thoſe times, the ſpirit of ſupplication was often poured upon me; under which I was frequently exerciſed, and felt my ſtrength renewed.

In a few months after I came here, my maſter bought ſeveral Scotchmen, ſervants, from on-board a veſſel, and brought them to Mount-Holly to ſell; one of which was taken ſick, and died.

In the latter part of his ſickneſs, he, being delirious, uſed to curſe and ſwear moſt ſorrowfully; and, the next night after his burial, I was left to ſleep alone in the ſame chamber where he died; I perceived in me a timorouſneſs; I knew, however, I had not injured the man, but aſſiſted in taking care of him according to my capacity; and was not free to aſk any one, on that occaſion, to ſleep with me: nature was feeble; but every trial was a freſh

a freſh incitement to give myſelf up wholly to the ſervice of God, for I found no helper like him in times of trouble.

After a while, my former acquaintance gave over expecting me as one of their company; and I began to be known to ſome whoſe converſation was helpful to me: and now, as I had experienced the love of God, through Jeſus Chriſt, to redeem me from many pollutions, and to be a ſuccour to me through a ſea of conflicts, with which no perſon was fully acquainted; and as my heart was often enlarged in this heavenly principle, I felt a tender compaſſion for the youth, who remained entangled in ſnares, like thoſe which had entangled me from one time to another: this love and tenderneſs increaſed; and my mind was more ſtrongly engaged for the good of my fellow-creatures. I went to meetings in an awful frame of mind, and endeavoured to be inwardly acquainted with the language of the true Shepherd; and, one day, being under a ſtrong exerciſe of ſpirit, I ſtood up, and ſaid ſome words in a meeting; but, not keeping cloſe to the divine opening, I ſaid more than was required of me; and being ſoon ſenſible of my error, I was afflicted in mind ſome weeks, without any light or comfort, even to that degree that I could not take ſatisfaction in any thing: I remembered God, and was troubled, and, in the depth of my diſtreſs, he had pity upon me, and ſent the Comforter: I then felt forgiveneſs for my offence, and my mind became calm and quiet,

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being truly thankful to my gracious Redeemer for his mercies; and, after this, feeling the ſpring of divine love opened, and a concern to ſpeak, I ſaid a few words in a meeting, in which I found peace; this, I believe, was about ſix weeks from the firſt time: and, as I was thus humbled and diſciplined under the croſs, my underſtanding became more ſtrengthened to diſtinguiſh the pure ſpirit which inwardly moves upon the heart, and taught me to wait in ſilence ſometimes many weeks together, until I felt that riſe which prepares the creature.

From an inward purifying, and ſtedfaſt abiding under it, ſprings a lively operative deſire for the good of others: all the faithful are not called to the public miniſtry; but whoever are, are called to miniſter of that which they have taſted and handled ſpiritually. The outward modes of worſhip are various; but, wherever any are true miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, it is from the operation of his ſpirit upon their hearts, firſt purifying them, and thus giving them a juſt ſenſe of the conditions of others.

This truth was early fixed in my mind; and I was taught to watch the pure opening, and to take heed, leſt, while I was ſtanding to ſpeak, my own will ſhould get uppermoſt, and cauſe me to utter words from worldly wiſdom, and depart from the channel of the true goſpel-miniſtry.

In the management of my outward affairs, I may ſay, with thankfulneſs, I found truth

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to be my ſupport; and I was reſpected in my maſter's family, who came to live in Mount-Holly within two years after my going there.

About the twenty-third year of my age, I had many freſh and heavenly openings, in reſpect to the care and providence of the Almighty over his creatures in general, and over man as the moſt noble amongſt thoſe which are viſible. And being clearly convinced in my judgement, that to place my whole truſt in God was beſt for me, I felt renewed engagements, that in all things I might act on an inward principle of virtue, and purſue worldly buſineſs no farther, than as truth opened my way therein.

About the time called Chriſtmas, I obſerved many people from the country, and dwellers in town, who, reſorting to public-houſes, ſpent their time in drinking and vain ſports, tending to corrupt one another; on which account I was much troubled. At one houſe, in particular, there was much diſorder; and I believed it was a duty incumbent on me to go and ſpeak to the maſter of that houſe. I conſidered I was young, and that ſeveral elderly friends in town had opportunity to ſee theſe things; but though I would gladly have been excuſed, yet I could not feel my mind clear.

The exerciſe was heavy: and as I was reading what the Almighty ſaid to Ezekiel, reſpecting his duty as a watchman, the matter was ſet home more clearly; and then, with prayers and tears, I beſought the Lord for his aſſiſtance, who, in loving-kindneſs, gave me

me a reſigned heart: then, at a ſuitable opportunity, I went to the public-houſe; and, ſeeing the man amongſt much company, I went to him, and told him, I wanted to ſpeak with him; ſo we went aſide, and there, in the fear of the Almighty, I expreſſed to him what reſted on my mind; which he took kindly, and afterward ſhewed more regard to me than before. In a few years afterwards he died, middle-aged; and I often thought that, had I neglected my duty in that caſe, it would have given me great trouble; and I was humbly thankful to my gracious Father, who had ſupported me herein.

My employer, having a negro-woman, ſold her, and deſired me to write a bill of ſale, the man being waiting who bought her: the thing was ſudden; and, though the thoughts of writing an inſtrument of ſlavery for one of my fellow-creatures felt uneaſy, yet I remembered I was hired by the year, that it was my maſter who directed me to do it, and that it was an elderly man, a member of our ſociety, who bought her; ſo, through weakneſs, I gave way, and wrote; but, at the executing it, I was ſo afflicted in my mind, that I ſaid, before my maſter and the friend, that I believed ſlave-keeping to be a practice inconſiſtent with the Chriſtian religion: this in ſome degree abated my uneaſineſs; yet, as often as I reflected ſeriouſly upon it, I thought I ſhould have been clearer, if I had deſired to have been excuſed from it, as a thing againſt

my conſcience; for ſuch it was. And, ſome time after this, a young man, of our ſociety, ſpoke to me to write a conveyance of a ſlave to him, he having lately taken a negro into his houſe: I told him I was not eaſy to write it; for, though many of our meeting and in other places kept ſlaves, I ſtill believed the practice was not right, and deſired to be excuſed from the writing. I ſpoke to him in good will; and he told me that keeping ſlaves was not altogether agreeable to his mind; but that the ſlave being a gift to his wife, he had accepted of her.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

His firſt journey, on a religious viſit, into Eaſt-Jerſey, in company with Abraham Farrington—His thoughts on merchandizing, and his learning a trade—His ſecond journey, with Iſaac Andrews, into Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina.—His third journey, with Peter Andrews, through part of Weſt and Eaſt Jerſey—Some account of his ſiſter Elizabeth, and her death—His fourth journey, with Peter Andrews, through New-York and Long-Iſland, to New-England—And his fifth journey, with John Sykes, to the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, and the lower counties on Delaware.

MY eſteemed friend, Abraham Farrington, being about to make a viſit to friends on the eaſtern ſide of this province, and having no companion, he propoſed to me to go with him; and, after a conference with ſome elderly friends, I agreed to go: we ſet out the fifth day of the ninth month, in the year 1743; had an evening-meeting at a tavern in Brunſwick, a town in which none of our ſociety dwelt; the room was full, and the people quiet. Thence to Amboy, and had an evening-meeting in the court-houſe; to which many people came, amongſt whom were ſeveral members of the aſſembly, they being in town on public affairs of the pro-

vince: in both theſe meetings my ancient companion was enlarged to preach, in the love of the goſpel. Thence we went to Woodbridge, Raway, and Plainfield; and had ſix or ſeven meetings in places where meetings of friends are not uſually held, being made up chiefly of preſbyterians; and my beloved companion was frequently ſtrengthened to publiſh the word of life amongſt them: as for me, I was often ſilent; and, when I ſpake, it was with much care, that I might ſpeak only what truth opened: and I learned ſome profitable leſſons. — We were out about two weeks.

Near this time, being on ſome outward buſineſs in which ſeveral families were concerned, and which was attended with difficulties, ſome things relating thereto not being clearly ſtated, nor rightly underſtood by all, there aroſe ſome heat in the minds of the parties, and one valuable friend got off his watch; I had a great regard for him, and felt a ſtrong inclination, after matters were ſettled, to ſpeak to him concerning his conduct in that caſe: but I being a youth, and he far advanced in age and experience, my way appeared difficult; but, after ſome days deliberation, and inward ſeeking to the Lord for aſſiſtance, I was made ſubject; ſo that I expreſſed what lay upon me in a way which became my youth and his years: and, though it was a hard taſk to me, it was well taken, and, I believe, was uſeful to us both.

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Having now been ſeveral years with my employer, and he doing leſs at merchandize than heretofore, I was thoughtful of ſome other way of buſineſs; perceiving merchandize to be attended with much cumber, in the way of trading in theſe parts.

My mind, through the power of truth, was in a good degree weaned from the deſire of outward greatneſs, and I was learning to be content with real conveniences, that were not coſtly; ſo that a way of life, free from much entanglement, appeared beſt for me, though the income might be ſmall. I had ſeveral offers of buſineſs that appeared profitable, but did not ſee my way clear to accept of them; as believing the buſineſs propoſed would be attended with more outward care than was required of me to engage in.

I ſaw that a humble man, with the bleſſing of the Lord, might live on a little: and that where the heart was ſet on greatneſs, ſucceſs in buſineſs did not ſatisfy the craving; but that commonly, with an increaſe of wealth, the deſire of wealth increaſed. There was a care on my mind ſo to paſs my time, that nothing might hinder me from the moſt ſteady attention to the voice of the true Shepherd.

My employer, though now a retailer of goods, was by trade a taylor, and kept a ſervant-man at that buſineſs; and I began to think about learning the trade, expecting that, if I ſhould ſettle, I might, by this trade and a little retailing of goods, get a living

in a plain way, without the load of great buſineſs: I mentioned it to my employer, and we ſoon agreed on terms; and then, when I had leiſure from the affairs of merchandize, I worked with his man. I believed the hand of Providence pointed out this buſineſs for me; and was taught to be content with it, though I felt, at times, a diſpoſition that would have ſought for ſomething greater: but, through the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt, I had ſeen the happineſs of humility, and there was an earneſt deſire in me to enter deep into it; and, at times, this deſire aroſe to a degree of fervent ſupplication, wherein my ſoul was ſo environed with heavenly light and conſolation, that things were made eaſy to me which had been otherwiſe.

After ſome time, my employer's wife died; ſhe was a virtuous woman, and generally beloved of her neighbours: and, ſoon after this, he left ſhopkeeping, and we parted. I then wrought at my trade, as a taylor; carefully attended meetings for worſhip and diſcipline; and found an enlargement of goſpel-love in my mind, and therein a concern to viſit friends in ſome of the back-ſettlements of Pennſylvania and Virginia; and, being thoughtful about a companion, I expreſſed it to my beloved friend, Iſaac Andrews, who then told me that he had drawings to the ſame places; alſo to go through Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. After conſiderable time paſt, and ſeveral conferences with him, I felt eaſy to accompany him throughout, if way opened

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for it. I opened the caſe in our monthly meeting; and, friends expreſſing their unity therewith, we obtained certificates to travel as companions; his from Haddonfield, and mine from Burlington.

We left our province on the twelfth day of the third month, in the year 1746, and had ſeveral meetings in the upper part of Cheſter county, and near Lancaſter; in ſome of which, the love of Chriſt prevailed, uniting us together in his ſervice. Then we croſſed the river Suſquehannah, and had ſeveral meetings in a new ſettlement, called the Red-Lands; the oldeſt of which, as I was informed, did not exceed ten years. It is the poorer ſort of people that commonly begin to improve remote deſarts: with a ſmall ſtock they have houſes to build, lands to clear and fence, corn to raiſe, clothes to provide, and children to educate; that friends, who viſit ſuch, may well ſympathiſe with them in their hardſhips in the wilderneſs; and though the beſt entertainment ſuch can give may ſeem coarſe to ſome who are uſed to cities, or old ſettled places, it becomes the diſciples of Chriſt to be content with it. Our hearts were ſometimes enlarged in the love of our heavenly Father amongſt theſe people; and the ſweet influence of his ſpirit ſupported us through ſome difficulties: to him be the praiſe!

We paſſed on to Manoquacy, Fairfax, Hopewell, and Shanando, and had meetings; ſome of which were comfortable and

edifying. From Shanando we ſet off in the afternoon for the old ſettlements of friends in Virginia; and, the firſt night, we, with our pilot, lodged in the woods, our horſes feeding near us; but he, being poorly provided with a horſe, and we young and having good horſes, were free the next day to part with him; and did ſo. In two days after, we reached to our friend John Cheagle's, in Virginia: ſo we took the meetings in our way through Virginia; were, in ſome degree, baptized into a feeling ſenſe of the conditions of the people; and our exerciſe in general was more painful in theſe old ſettlements, than it had been amongſt the back inhabitants: but, through the goodneſs of our heavenly Father, the well of living-waters was, at times, opened to our encouragement and the refreſhment of the ſincere-hearted. We went on to Perquimons, in North-Carolina; had ſeveral meetings, which were large; and found ſome openneſs in thoſe parts, and a hopeful appearance amongſt the young people. So we turned again to Virginia, and attended moſt of the meetings which we had not been at before, labouring amongſt friends in the love of Jeſus Chriſt, as ability was given; and thence went to the mountains, up James-River, to a new ſettlement; and had ſeveral meetings amongſt the people, ſome of whom had lately joined in memberſhip with our ſociety.

In our journeying to and fro, we found ſome honeſt-hearted friends, who appeared

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to be concerned for the cauſe of truth among a backſliding people.

From Virginia, we croſſed over the river Patowmac, at Hoe's ferry, and made a general viſit to the meetings of friends on the weſtern ſhore of Maryland; and were at their quarterly meeting. We had ſome hard labour amongſt them, endeavouring to diſcharge our duty honeſtly as way opened, in the love of truth: and thence taking ſundry meetings in our way, we paſſed homeward; where, through the favour of divine Providence, we reached the ſixteenth day of the ſixth month, in the year 1746; and I may ſay that, through the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, my companion and I travelled in harmony, and parted in the nearneſs of true brotherly love.

Two things were remarkable to me in this journey: firſt, in regard to my entertainment; when I ate, drank, and lodged free-coſt with people, who lived in eaſe on the hard labour of their ſlaves, I felt uneaſy; and, as my mind was inward to the Lord, I found, from place to place, this uneaſineſs return upon me, at times, through the whole viſit. Where the maſters bore a good ſhare of the burthen, and lived frugally, ſo that their ſervants were well provided for, and their labour moderate, I felt more eaſy; but where they lived in a coſtly way, and laid heavy burthens on their ſlaves, my exerciſe was often great, and I frequently had converſation with them, in private, concerning

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it. Secondly: this trade of importing ſlaves from their native country being much encouraged amongſt them, and the white people and their children ſo generally living without much labour, was frequently the ſubject of my ſerious thoughts: and I ſaw in theſe ſouthern provinces ſo many vices and corruptions, increaſed by this trade and this way of life, that it appeared to me as a gloom over the land; and though now many willingly run into it, yet, in future, the conſequence will be grievous to poſterity: I expreſs it as it hath appeared to me, not at once, nor twice, but as a matter fixed on my mind.

Soon after my return home, I felt an increaſing concern for friends on our ſea-coaſt; and, on the eighth day of the eighth month, in the year 1746, with the unity of friends, and in company with my beloved friend and neighbour, Peter Andrews, brother to my companion before-mentioned, we ſet forward, and viſited meetings generally about Salem, Cape May, Great and Little Egg-Harbour; and had meetings at Barnagat, Mannahockin, and Mane-Squan, and ſo to the yearly meeting at Shrewſbury. Through the goodneſs of the Lord way was opened, and the ſtrength of divine love was ſometimes felt in our aſſemblies, to the comfort and help of thoſe who were rightly concerned before him. We were out twenty-two days, and rode, by computation, three hundred and forty miles. At Shrewſbury yearly meeting,

ing, we met with our dear friends, Michael Lightfoot and Abraham Farrington, who had good ſervice there.

The winter following my eldeſt ſiſter, Elizabeth Woolman, jun. died of the ſmall-pox, aged thirty-one years. She was, from her youth, of a thoughtful diſpoſition; and very compaſſionate to her acquaintance in their ſickneſs or diſtreſs, being ready to help as far as ſhe could. She was dutiful to her parents; one inſtance whereof follows:—It happened that ſhe, and two of her ſiſters, being then near the eſtate of young women, had an inclination, one firſt-day after meeting, to go on a viſit to ſome other young women at ſome diſtance off; whoſe company, I believe, would have done them no good. They expreſſed their deſire to our parents; who were diſſatisfied with the propoſal, and ſtopped them. The ſame day, as my ſiſters and I were together, and they talking about their diſappointment, Elizabeth expreſſed her contentment under it; ſignifying, ſhe believed it might be for their good.

A few years after ſhe attained to mature-age, through the gracious viſitations of God's love, ſhe was ſtrengthened to live a ſelf-denying exemplary life, giving herſelf much to reading and meditation.

The following letter may ſhew, in ſome degree, her diſpoſition.

Haddonfield,

Haddonfield, 1ſt day, 11th month, 1743,

Beloved brother, John Woolman,

In that love which deſires the welfare of all men, I write unto thee: I received thine, dated ſecond day of the tenth month laſt, with which I was comforted. My ſpirit is bowed with thankfulneſs that I ſhould be remembered, who am unworthy; but the Lord is full of mercy, and his goodneſs is extended to the meaneſt of his creation; therefore, in his infinite love, he hath pitied, and ſpared, and ſhewed mercy, that I have not been cut off nor quite loſt; but, at times, I am refreſhed and comforted as with the glimpſe of his preſence, which is more, to the immortal part, than all which this world can afford: ſo, with deſires for thy preſervation with my own, I remain

thy affectionate ſiſter,

Eliz. Woolman, jun.

In the fore part of her illneſs ſhe was in great ſadneſs and dejection of mind, of which ſhe told one of her intimate friends, and ſaid, when I was a young girl I was wanton and airy, but I thought I had thoroughly repented of it; and added, I have of late had great ſatisfaction in meetings. Though ſhe was thus diſconſolate, ſtill ſhe retained a hope, which was as an anchor to her: and ſometime, after, the ſame friend

came

came again to ſee her, to whom ſhe mentioned her former expreſſions, and ſaid, it is otherwiſe now, for the Lord hath rewarded me ſeven-fold; and I am unable to expreſs the greatneſs of his love manifeſted to me. Her diſorder appearing dangerous, and our mother being ſorrowful, ſhe took notice of it, and ſaid, dear mother, weep not for me; I go to my God: and, many times, with an audible voice, uttered praiſe to her Redeemer.

A friend, coming ſome miles to ſee her the morning before ſhe died, aſked her, how ſhe did? ſhe anſwered, I have had a hard night, but ſhall not have another ſuch, for I ſhall die, and it will be well with my ſoul; and accordingly died the next evening.

The following ejaculations were found amongſt her writings; written, I believe, at four times:

I. Oh! that my head were as waters, and mine eyes as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, until acquainted with my God.

II. O Lord, that I may enjoy thy preſence! or elſe my time is loſt, and my life a ſnare to my ſoul.

III. O Lord, that I may receive bread from thy table, and that thy grace may abound in me!

IV. O Lord, that I may be acquainted with thy preſence, that I may be ſeaſoned with thy ſalt, that thy grace may abound in me!

Of

Of late I found drawings in my mind to viſit friends in New-England, and, having an opportunity of joining in company with my beloved friend, Peter Andrews, we, having obtained certificates from our monthly meeting, ſet forward on the ſixteenth day of the third month, in the year 1747, and reached the yearly meeting at Long-Iſland; at which were our friends, Samuel Nottingham from England, John Griffith, Jane Hoſkins, and Elizabeth Hudſon from Pennſylvania, and Jacob Andrews from Cheſterfield. Several of whom were favoured in their public exerciſe; and, through the goodneſs of the Lord, we had ſome edifying meetings. After this, my companion and I viſited friends on Long-iſland; and, through the mercies of God, we were helped in the work.

Beſides going to the ſettled meetings of friends, we were at a general meeting at Setawket, chiefly made up of other ſocieties: and had a meeting at Oyſter-Bay in a dwelling-houſe, at which were many people: at the firſt of which there was not much ſaid by way of teſtimony; but it was, I believe, a good meeting: at the latter, through the ſpringing up of living-waters, it was a day to be thankfully remembered. Having viſited the iſland, we went over to the main, taking meetings in our way, to Oblong, Nine-Partners, and New-Milford.—In theſe back-ſettlements we met with ſeveral people, who, through the immediate workings of the ſpi-

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rit of Chriſt on their minds, were drawn from the vanities of the world, to an inward acquaintance with him: they were educated in the way of the preſbyterians. A conſiderable number of the youth, members of that ſociety, uſed to ſpend their time often together in merriment; but ſome of the principal young men of that company being viſited by the powerful workings of the ſpirit of Chriſt, and thereby led humbly to take up his croſs, could no longer join in thoſe vanities; and, as theſe ſtood ſtedfaſt to that inward convincement, they were made a bleſſing to ſome of their former companions; ſo that, through the power of truth, ſeveral were brought into a cloſe exerciſe concerning the eternal well-being of their ſouls. Theſe young people continued for a time to frequent their public worſhip; and, beſides that, had meetings of their own; which meetings were a while allowed by their preacher, who, ſometimes, met with them: but, in time, their judgement, in matters of religion, diſagreeing with ſome of the articles of the preſbyterians, their meetings were diſapproved by that ſociety; and ſuch of them as ſtood firm to their duty, as it was inwardly manifeſted, had many difficulties to go through: and their meetings were in a while dropped; ſome of them returning to the preſbyterians; and others of them, after a time, joined our religious ſociety.

I had converſation with ſome of the latter, to my help and edification; and believe ſeveral

ral of them are acquainted with the nature of that worſhip, which is performed in ſpirit and in truth. From hence, accompanied by Amos Powel, a friend from Long-Iſland, we rode through Connecticut, chiefly inhabited by preſbyterians, who were generally civil to us; and, after three days riding, we came amongſt friends in the colony of Rhode-Iſland. We viſited friends in and about Newport, and Dartmouth, and generally in thoſe parts; and then to Boſton; and proceeded eaſtward as far as Dover: and then returned to Newport; and, not far from thence, we met our friend, Thomas Gawthrop, from England, who was then on a viſit to theſe provinces. From Newport we ſailed to Nantucket; were there near a week; and from thence came over to Dartmouth: and, having finiſhed our viſit in theſe parts, we croſſed the ſound from New-London to Long-Iſland; and, taking ſome meetings on the iſland, proceeded homeward; where we reached the thirteenth day of the ſeventh month, in the year 1747, having rode about fifteen hundred miles, and ſailed about one hundred and fifty.

In this journey, I may ſay, in general, we were ſometimes in much weakneſs, and laboured under diſcouragements; and at other times, through the renewed manifeſtations of divine love, we had ſeaſons of refreſhment, wherein the power of truth prevailed.

We were taught, by renewed experience, to labour for an inward ſtillneſs; at no time to ſeek for words, but to live in the ſpirit of truth,

truth, and utter that to the people which truth opened in us. My beloved companion and I belonged to one meeting, came forth in the miniſtry near the ſame time, and were inwardly united in the work: he was about thirteen years older than I, bore the heavieſt burthen, and was an inſtrument of the greateſt uſe.

Finding a concern to viſit friends in the lower counties on Delaware, and on the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, and having an opportunity to join with my well-beloved ancient friend, John Sykes, we obtained certificates, and ſet off the ſeventh day of the eighth month, in the year 1748; were at the meetings of friends in the lower counties, attended the yearly meeting at Little-Creek, and made a viſit to chief of the meetings on the eaſtern ſhore; and ſo home by the way of Nottingham: were abroad about ſix weeks, and rode, by computation, about five hundred and fifty miles.

Our exerciſe, at times, was heavy; but, through the goodneſs of the Lord, we were often refreſhed: and I may ſay, by experience, "He is a ſtrong hold in the day of trouble." Though our ſociety, in theſe parts, appeared to me to be in a declining condition; yet, I believe, the Lord hath a people amongſt them, who labour to ſerve him uprightly, but have many difficulties to encounter.

CHAP. III.

His marriage—The death of his father——His journies into the upper part of New-Jersey, and afterwards into Pennsylvania—Considerations on keeping slaves, and his visits to the families of friends at several times and places —An epistle from the general meeting—His journey to Long-Island——Considerations on trading, and on the use of spirituous liquors and costly apparel — And his letter to a friend.

ABOUT this time, believing it good for me to settle, and thinking seriously about a companion, my heart was turned to the Lord with desires that he would give me wisdom to proceed therein agreeable to his will; and he was pleased to give me a well-inclined damsel, Sarah Ellis; to whom I was married the eighteenth day of the eighth month, in the year 1749.

In the fall of the year 1750 died my father, Samuel Woolman, with a fever, aged about sixty years.

In his life-time he manifested much care for us his children, that in our youth we might learn to fear the Lord; often endeavouring to imprint in our minds the true principles of virtue, and particularly to cherish in us a spirit of tenderness, not only towards poor people,

people, but alſo towards all creatures of which we had the command.

After my return from Carolina, in the year 1746, I made ſome obſervations on keeping ſlaves, which ſome time before his deceaſe I ſhewed him; and he peruſed the manuſcript, propoſed a few alterations, and appeared well ſatisfied that I found a concern on that account: and in his laſt ſickneſs, as I was watching with him one night, he being ſo far ſpent that there was no expectation of his recovery, but having the perfect uſe of his underſtanding, he aſked me concerning the manuſcript, whether I expected ſoon to proceed to take the advice of friends in publiſhing it? and, after ſome converſation thereon, ſaid, I have all along been deeply affected with the oppreſſion of the poor negroes; and now, at laſt, my concern for them is as great as ever.

By his direction, I had wrote his will in a time of health, and that night he deſired me to read it to him, which I did; and he ſaid it was agreeable to his mind. He then made mention of his end, which he believed was near; and ſignified, that, though he was ſenſible of many imperfections in the courſe of his life, yet his experience of the power of truth, and of the love and goodneſs of God from time to time, even till now, was ſuch, that he had no doubt but that, in leaving this life, he ſhould enter into one more happy.

The next day his ſiſter Elizabeth came to ſee him, and told him of the deceaſe of their

ſiſter Ann; who died a few days before: he then ſaid, I reckon ſiſter Ann was free to leave this world? Elizabeth ſaid, ſhe was: he then ſaid, I alſo am free to leave it; and, being in great weakneſs of body, ſaid, I hope I ſhall ſhortly go to reſt. He continued in a weighty frame of mind, and was ſenſible till near the laſt.

On the ſecond day of the ninth month, in the year 1751, feeling drawings in my mind to viſit friends at the Great-Meadows, in the upper part of Weſt-Jerſey, with the unity of our monthly meeting, I went there; and had ſome ſearching laborious exerciſe amongſt friends in thoſe parts, and found inward peace therein.

In the ninth month of the year 1753, in company with my well-eſteemed friend, John Sykes, and with the unity of friends, we travelled about two weeks, viſiting friends in Bucks-County. We laboured in the love of the goſpel, according to the meaſure received; and, through the mercies of him, who is ſtrength to the poor who truſt in him, we found ſatisfaction in our viſit: and, in the next winter, way opening to viſit friends families within the compaſs of our monthly-meeting, partly by the labours of two friends from Pennſylvania, I joined in ſome part of the work; having had a deſire ſome time that it might go forward amongſt us.

About this time, a perſon at ſome diſtance lying ſick, his brother came to me to write his will: I knew he had ſlaves; and, aſking his

his brother, was told he intended to leave them as ſlaves to his children. As writing is a profitable employ, and as offending ſober people was diſagreeable to my inclination, I was ſtraitened in my mind; but, as I looked to the Lord, he inclined my heart to his teſtimony: and I told the man, that I believed the practice of continuing ſlavery to this people was not right; and had a ſcruple in my mind againſt doing writings of that kind: that, though many in our ſociety kept them as ſlaves, ſtill I was not eaſy to be concerned in it; and deſired to be excuſed from going to write the will. I ſpake to him in the fear of the Lord; and he made no reply to what I ſaid, but went away: he, alſo, had ſome concerns in the practice; and I thought he was diſpleaſed with me. In this caſe I had a freſh confirmation, that acting contrary to preſent outward intereſt, from a motive of divine love, and in regard to truth and righteouſneſs, opens the way to a treaſure better than ſilver, and to a friendſhip exceeding the friendſhip of men.

The manuſcript before-mentioned having lain by me ſeveral years, the publication of it reſted weightily upon me; and this year I offered it to the reviſal of friends, who, having examined and made ſome ſmall alterations in it, directed a number of copies thereof to be publiſhed, and diſperſed amongſt friends.

In the year 1754, I found my mind drawn to join in a viſit to friends families belonging

to Chesterfield monthly-meeting; and having the approbation of our own, I went to their monthly-meeting in order to confer with friends, and see if way opened for it: I had conference with some of their members, the proposal having been opened before in their meeting, and one friend agreed to join with me as a companion for a beginning; but, when meeting was ended, I felt great distress of mind, and doubted what way to take, or whether to go home and wait for greater clearness: I kept my distress secret; and, going with a friend to his house, my desires were to the great Shepherd for his heavenly instruction; and in the morning I felt easy to proceed on the visit, being very low in my mind: and as mine eye was turned to the Lord, waiting in families in deep reverence before him, he was pleased graciously to afford help; so that we had many comfortable opportunities, and it appeared as a fresh visitation to some young people. I spent several weeks this winter in the service, part of which time was employed near home. And again, in the following winter, I was several weeks in the same service; some part of the time at Shrewsbury, in company with my beloved friend, John Sykes; and have cause humbly to acknowledge, that, through the goodness of the Lord, our hearts were, at times, enlarged in his love; and strength was given to go through the trials which, in the course of our visit, attended us.

From

From a diſagreement between the powers of England and France, it was now a time of trouble on this Continent; and an epiſtle to friends went forth from our general ſpring-meeting, which I thought good to give a place in this journal.

An EPISTLE from our general ſpring-meeting of miniſters and elders for Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, held at Philadelphia, from the twenty-ninth of the third month, to the firſt of the fourth month, incluſive, 1755.

To friends on the Continent of America.

Dear friends,

IN an humble ſenſe of divine goodneſs, and the gracious continuation of God's love to his people, we tenderly ſalute you; and are at this time therein engaged in mind, that all of us who profeſs the truth, as held forth and publiſhed by our worthy predeceſſors in this latter age of the world, may keep near to that life which is the light of men, and be ſtrengthened to hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith without wavering, that our truſt may not be in man, but in the Lord alone, who ruleth in the army of heaven, and in the kingdoms of men, before whom the earth is "as "the duſt of the balance, and her inhabitants "as graſshoppers." Iſa. xl. 22.

We (being convinced that the gracious deſign of the Almighty in ſending his Son into the world, was to repair the breach made by diſobedience, to finiſh ſin and tranſgreſſion, that his kingdom might come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven) have found it to be our duty to ceaſe from thoſe national conteſts productive of miſery and bloodſhed, and ſubmit our cauſe to him, the Moſt High, whoſe tender love to his children exceeds the moſt warm affections of natural parents, and who hath promiſed to his ſeed throughout the earth, as to one individual, "I will never leave thee, nor forſake "thee." Heb. xiii. 5. And as we, through the gracious dealings of the Lord our God, have had experience of that work which is carried on, "not by *earthly* might, nor by "power, but by my Spirit, ſaith the Lord "of hoſts:" Zech. iv. 6. by which operation, that ſpiritual kingdom is ſet up, which is to ſubdue and break in pieces all kingdoms that oppoſe it, and ſhall ſtand for ever. In a deep ſenſe thereof, and of the ſafety, ſtability, and peace, there is in it, we are deſirous that all who profeſs the truth, may be inwardly acquainted with it, and thereby be qualified to conduct ourſelves in all parts of our life as becomes our peaceable profeſſion: and we truſt, as there is a faithful continuance to depend wholly upon the Almighty arm, from one generation to another, the peaceable kingdom will gradually be extended "from ſea to ſea, and from the river to the

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" ends of the earth," Zech. ix. 10. to the completion of thoſe propheſies already begun, that " nation ſhall not lift up a ſword againſt " nation, nor learn war any more." Iſa. ii. 4. Micah iv. 3.

And, dearly beloved friends, ſeeing we have theſe promiſes, and believe that God is beginning to fulfil them, let us conſtantly endeavour to have our minds ſufficiently diſentangled from the ſurfeiting cares of this life, and redeemed from the love of the world, that no earthly poſſeſſions nor enjoyments may bias our judgements, or turn us from that reſignation, and entire truſt in God, to which his bleſſing is moſt ſurely annexed; then may we ſay, " Our Redeemer is mighty, he will " plead our cauſe for us." Jer. l. 34. And if, for the farther promoting his moſt gracious purpoſes in the earth, he ſhould give us to taſte of that bitter cup which his faithful ones have often partaken of; O! that we may be rightly prepared to receive it!

And now, dear friends, with reſpect to the commotions and ſtirrings of the powers of the earth at this time near us, we are deſirous that none of us may be moved thereat; 'But repoſe ourſelves in the munition of 'that rock that all theſe ſhakings ſhall not 'move, even in the knowledge and feeling 'of the eternal power of God, keeping us 'ſubjectly given up to his heavenly will, and 'feel it daily to mortify that which remains 'in any of us which is of this world: for

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'the worldly part, in any, is the changeable 'part, and that is up and down, full and 'empty, joyful and ſorrowful, as things go 'well or ill in this world; for as the truth 'is but one, and many are made partakers 'of its ſpirit, ſo the world is but one, and 'many are made partakers of the ſpirit of 'it; and ſo many as do partake of it, ſo 'many will be ſtraitened and perplexed with 'it: but they who are ſingle to the truth, 'waiting daily to feel the life and virtue of 'it in their hearts, theſe ſhall rejoice in the 'midſt of adverſity,' and have to experience, with the prophet, That "Although the fig-"tree ſhall not bloſſom, neither ſhall fruit "be in the vines; the labour of the olive "ſhall fail, and the fields ſhall yield no "meat; the flock ſhall be cut off from the "fold, and there ſhall be no herd in the "ſtalls; yet will *they* rejoice in the Lord, and "joy in the God of *their* ſalvation." Hab. iii. 17, 18.

If, contrary to this, we profeſs the truth, and, not living under the power and influence of it, are producing fruits diſagreeable to the purity thereof, and truſt to the ſtrength of man to ſupport ourſelves, therein our confidence will be vain. For he, who removed the hedge from his vineyard, and gave it to be trodden under foot, by reaſon of the wild grapes it produced, (Iſa. v. 5.) remains unchangeable: and if, for the chaſtiſement of wickedneſs, and the farther promoting his own

own glory, he doth ariſe, even to ſhake terribly the earth, who then may oppoſe him, and proſper!

We remain, in the love of the goſpel, your friends and brethren.

Signed by fourteen friends.

Scrupling to do writings, relative to keeping ſlaves, having been a means of ſundry ſmall trials to me, in which I have ſo evidently felt my own will ſet aſide, I think it good to mention a few of them.—Tradeſmen and retailers of goods, who depend on their buſineſs for a living, are naturally inclined to keep the good-will of their cuſtomers; nor is it a pleaſant thing for young men to be under any neceſſity to queſtion the judgement or honeſty of elderly men, and more eſpecially of ſuch as have a fair reputation. Deep-rooted cuſtoms, though wrong, are not eaſily altered; but it is the duty of every one to be firm in that which they certainly know is right for them. A charitable benevolent man, well acquainted with a negro, may, I believe, under ſome circumſtances, keep him in his family as a ſervant, from no other motives than the negro's good; but man, as man, knows not what ſhall be after him, nor hath aſſurance that his children will attain to that perfection in wiſdom and goodneſs neceſſary rightly to exerciſe ſuch power; it is clear to me, that I ought not to be the ſcribe where wills are drawn, in which

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ſome children are made abſolute maſters over others during life.

About this time, an ancient man, of good eſteem in the neighbourhood, came to my houſe to get his will written; he had young negroes; and I aſked him privately, how he purpoſed to diſpoſe of them? he told me: I then ſaid, I cannot write thy will without breaking my own peace; and reſpectfully gave him my reaſons for it: he ſignified that he had a choice that I ſhould have written it; but as I could not, conſiſtent with my conſcience, he did not deſire it: and ſo he got it written by ſome other perſon. And, a few years after, there being great alterations in his family, he came again to get me to write his will: his negroes were yet young; and his ſon, to whom he intended to give them, was, ſince he firſt ſpoke to me, from a libertine, become a ſober young man; and he ſuppoſed, that I would have been free, on that account, to write it. We had much friendly talk on the ſubject, and then deferred it: a few days after, he came again, and directed their freedom; and then I wrote his will.

Near the time the laſt-mentioned friend firſt ſpoke to me, a neighbour received a bad bruiſe in his body, and ſent for me to bleed him; which being done, he deſired me to write his will: I took notes; and, amongſt other things, he told me to which of his children he gave his young negro: I conſidered the pain and diſtreſs he was in, and knew

knew not how it would end; ſo I wrote his will, ſave only that part concerning his ſlave, and, carrying it to his bed-ſide, read it to him; and then told him, in a friendly way, that I could not write any inſtruments by which my fellow-creatures were made ſlaves, without bringing trouble on my own mind: I let him know that I charged nothing for what I had done; and deſired to be excuſed from doing the other part in the way he propoſed: we then had a ſerious conference on the ſubject; at length he agreeing to ſet her free, I finiſhed his will.

Having found drawings in my mind to viſit friends on Long-Iſland, after obtaining a certificate from our monthly-meeting, I ſet off on the twelfth day of the fifth month, in the year 1756. When I reached the iſland, I lodged the firſt night at the houſe of my dear friend, Richard Hallet: the next day, being the firſt of the week, I was at the meeting in Newtown; in which we experienced the renewed manifeſtations of the love of Jeſus Chriſt, to the comfort of the honeſt-hearted. I went that night to Fluſhing; and the next day, in company with my beloved friend, Matthew Franklin, we croſſed the ferry at White-Stone; were at three meetings on the main, and then returned to the iſland; where I ſpent the remainder of the week in viſiting meetings. The Lord, I believe, hath a people in thoſe parts, who are honeſtly inclined to ſerve him; but many, I fear, are too much clogged with the things of this life, and do not come forward

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bearing the croſs in ſuch faithfulneſs as he calls for.

My mind was deeply engaged in this viſit, both in public and private; and, at ſeveral places, obſerving that they had ſlaves, I found myſelf under a neceſſity, in a friendly way, to labour with them on that ſubject; expreſſing, as way opened, the inconſiſtency of that practice with the purity of the Chriſtian religion, and the ill effects of it manifeſted amongſt us.

The latter end of the week, their yearly-meeting began; at which were our friends John Scarbrough, Jane Hoſkins, and Suſannah Brown, from Pennſylvania: the public meetings were large, and meaſurably favoured with divine goodneſs.

The exerciſe of my mind, at this meeting, was chiefly on account of thoſe who were conſidered as the foremoſt rank in the ſociety: and, in a meeting of miniſters and elders, way opened, that I expreſſed in ſome meaſure what lay upon me; and, at a time when friends were met for tranſacting the affairs of the church, having ſet a while ſilent, I felt a weight on my mind, and ſtood up; and, through the gracious regard of our heavenly Father, ſtrength was given fully to clear myſelf of a burthen, which, for ſome days, had been increaſing upon me.

Through the humbling diſpenſations of divine Providence, men are ſometimes fitted for his ſervice. The meſſages of the prophet Jeremiah were ſo diſagreeable to the people,

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and ſo reverſe to the ſpirit they lived in, that he became the object of their reproach; and, in the weakneſs of nature, thought of deſiſting from his prophetic office; but, ſaith he, "His word was in my heart as a burning "fire ſhut up in my bones; and I was weary "with forbearing, and could not ſtay." I ſaw at this time, that, if I was honeſt in declaring that which truth opened in me, I could not pleaſe all men; and laboured to be content in the way of my duty, however diſagreeable to my own inclination. After this I went homeward, taking Woodbridge and Plainfield in my way; in both which meetings, the pure influence of divine love was manifeſted; in an humbling ſenſe whereof I went home; having been out about twenty-four days, and rode about three hundred and ſixteen miles.

While I was out on this journey, my heart was much affected with a ſenſe of the ſtate of the churches in our ſouthern provinces; and, believing the Lord was calling me to ſome farther labour amongſt them, I was bowed in reverence before him, with fervent deſires that I might find ſtrength to reſign myſelf up to his heavenly will.

Until this year, 1756, I continued to retail goods, beſides following my trade as a taylor; about which time, I grew uneaſy on account of my buſineſs growing too cumberſome. I had begun with ſelling trimmings for garments, and from thence proceeded to ſell cloths and linens; and, at length,

length, having got a conſiderable ſhop of goods, my trade increaſed every year, and the road to large buſineſs appeared open; but I felt a ſtop in my mind.

Through the mercies of the Almighty, I had, in a good degree, learned to be content with a plain way of living: I had but a ſmall family; and, on ſerious conſideration, I believed truth did not require me to engage in much cumbering affairs: it had been my general practice to buy and ſell things really uſeful: things that ſerved chiefly to pleaſe the vain mind in people, I was not eaſy to trade in; ſeldom did it; and, whenever I did, I found it weaken me as a Chriſtian.

The increaſe of buſineſs became my burthen; for, though my natural inclination was toward merchandize, yet I believed truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers: and there was now a ſtrife in my mind between the two; and in this exerciſe my prayers were put up to the Lord, who graciouſly heard me, and gave me a heart reſigned to his holy will: then I leſſened my outward buſineſs; and, as I had opportunity, told my cuſtomers of my intention, that they might conſider what ſhop to turn to: and, in a while, wholly laid down merchandize, following my trade, as a taylor, myſelf only, having no apprentice. I alſo had a nurſery of apple-trees; in which I employed ſome of my time in hoeing, grafting, trimming, and inoculating. In merchandize it is the cuſtom, where I lived, to ſell chiefly

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on credit, and poor people often get in debt; and when payment is expected, not having wherewith to pay, their creditors often sue for it at law. Having often observed occurrences of this kind, I found it good for me to advise poor people to take such goods as were most useful and not costly.

In the time of trading, I had an opportunity of seeing, that the too liberal use of spirituous liquors, and the custom of wearing too costly apparel, led some people into great inconveniences; and these two things appear to be often connected; for, by not attending to that use of things which is consistent with universal righteousness, there is an increase of labour which extends beyond what our heavenly Father intends for us: and by great labour, and often by much sweating, there is, even among such as are not drunkards, a craving of some liquors to revive the spirits: that, partly by the luxurious drinking of some, and partly by the drinking of others, (led to it through immoderate labour,) very great quantities of rum are every year expended in our colonies; the greater part of which we should have no need of, did we steadily attend to pure wisdom.

Where men take pleasure in feeling their minds elevated with strong drink, and so indulge their appetite as to disorder their understandings, neglect their duty as members in a family or civil society, and cast off all regard to religion, their case is much to be pitied; and where such, whose lives are for

the moſt paſt regular, and whoſe examples have a ſtrong influence on the minds of others, adhere to ſome cuſtoms which powerfully draw to the uſe of more ſtrong liquor than pure wiſdom allows; this alſo, as it hinders the ſpreading of the ſpirit of meekneſs, and ſtrengthens the hands of the more exceſſive drinkers, is a caſe to be lamented.

As every degree of luxury hath ſome connexion with evil, thoſe who profeſs to be diſciples of Chriſt, and are looked upon as leaders of the people, ſhould have that mind in them which was alſo in Chriſt, and ſo ſtand ſeparate from every wrong way, as a means of help to the weaker. As I have ſometimes been much ſpent in the heat, and taken ſpirits to revive me, I have found, by experience, that in ſuch circumſtances the mind is not ſo calm, nor ſo fitly diſpoſed for divine meditation, as when all ſuch extremes are avoided; and I have felt an increaſing care to attend to that holy Spirit which ſets bounds to our deſires, and leads thoſe, who faithfully follow it, to apply all the gifts of divine Providence to the purpoſes for which they were intended. Did ſuch, as have the care of great eſtates, attend with ſingleneſs of heart to this heavenly Inſtructor, which ſo opens and enlarges the mind, that men love their neighbours as themſelves, they would have wiſdom given them to manage, without finding occaſion to employ ſome people in the luxuries of life, or to make it neceſſary for others to labour too hard; but, for

want

want of ſteadily regarding this principle of divine love, a ſelfiſh ſpirit takes place in the minds of people, which is attended with darkneſs and manifold confuſion in the world.

Though trading in things uſeful is an honeſt employ; yet, through the great number of ſuperfluities which are bought and ſold, and through the corruption of the times, they, who apply to merchandize for a living, have great need to be well experienced in that precept which the prophet Jeremiah laid down for his ſcribe: "Seekeſt thou great things for "thyſelf? ſeek them not."

In the winter, this year, I was engaged with friends in viſiting families; and, through the goodneſs of the Lord, we had oftentimes experience of his heart-tendering preſence amongſt us.

A copy of a letter written to a friend.

IN this thy late affliction I have found a deep fellow-feeling with thee; and had a ſecret hope throughout, that it might pleaſe the Father of mercies to raiſe thee up, and ſanctify thy troubles to thee; that thou, being more fully acquainted with that way which the world eſteems fooliſh, mayſt feel the clothing of divine fortitude, and be ſtrengthened to reſiſt that ſpirit which leads from the ſimplicity of the everlaſting truth.

We may ſee ourſelves crippled and halting, and, from a ſtrong bias to things pleaſant and eaſy, find an impoſſibility to advance forward; but things impoſſible with men are poſſible with God; and, our wills being made ſubject to his, all temptations are ſurmountable.

This work of ſubjecting the will is compared to the mineral in the furnace; "He "refines them as ſilver is refined——He ſhall "ſit as a refiner and purifier of ſilver." By theſe compariſons we are inſtructed in the neceſſity of the operation of the hand of God upon us, to prepare our hearts truly to adore him, and manifeſt that adoration, by inwardly turning away from that ſpirit, in all its workings, which is not of him. To forward this work, the all-wiſe God is ſometimes pleaſed, through outward diſtreſs, to bring us near the gates of death; that, life being painful and afflicting, and the proſpect of eternity open before us, all earthly bonds may be looſened, and the mind prepared for that deep and ſacred inſtruction, which otherwiſe would not be received. If parents love their children and delight in their happineſs, then he, who is perfect goodneſs, in ſending abroad mortal contagions, doth aſſuredly direct their uſe—Are the righteous removed by it? their change is happy: are the wicked taken away in their wickedneſs? the Almighty is clear: Do we paſs through with anguiſh and great bitterneſs, and yet recover,

recover, he intends that we ſhould be purged from droſs, and our ears opened to diſcipline.

And now that, on thy part, after thy ſore affliction and doubts of recovery, thou art again reſtored, forget not him who hath helped thee; but in humble gratitude hold faſt his inſtructions, thereby to ſhun thoſe by-paths which lead from the firm foundation. I am ſenſible of that variety of company, to which one in thy buſineſs muſt be expoſed: I have painfully felt the force of converſation proceeding from men deeply rooted in an earthly mind, and can ſympathize with others in ſuch conflicts, in that much weakneſs ſtill attends me.

I find that to be a fool as to worldly wiſdom, and commit my cauſe to God, not fearing to offend men, who take offence at the ſimplicity of truth, is the only way to remain unmoved at the ſentiments of others.

The fear of man brings a ſnare; by halting in our duty, and giving back in the time of trial, our hands grow weaker, our ſpirits get mingled with the people, our ears grow dull as to hearing the language of the true Shepherd; that, when we look at the way of the righteous, it ſeems as though it was not for us to follow them.

There is a love clothes my mind, while I write, which is ſuperior to all expreſſions; and I find my heart open to encourage a holy emulation, to advance forward in Chriſtian firmneſs. Deep humility is a ſtrong bulwark; and, as we enter into it, we find ſafety:

the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than man, and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than man. Being unclothed of our own wiſdom, and knowing the abaſement of the creature, therein we find that power to ariſe, which gives health and vigour to us.

CHAP. IV.

His journey to Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina—Conſiderations on the ſtate of friends there; and the exerciſe he was under in travelling among thoſe ſo generally concerned in keeping ſlaves: with ſome obſervations in converſation, at ſeveral times, on this ſubject—His epiſtle to friends at New-Garden and Cane-Creek—His thoughts on the neglect of a religious care in the education of the negroes.

FEELING an exerciſe in relation to a viſit to the ſouthern provinces, I acquainted our monthly meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate: expecting to go alone, one of my brothers, who lived in Philadelphia, having ſome buſineſs in North-Carolina, propoſed going with me part of the way; but, as he had a view of ſome outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion

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ſeemed ſome difficulty with me, whereupon I had converſation with him at ſundry times; and, at length, feeling eaſy in my mind, I had converſation with ſeveral elderly friends of Philadelphia on the ſubject; and he obtaining a certificate ſuitable to the occaſion, we ſet off in the fifth month of the year 1757: and, coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, lodged at John Churchman's; and here I met with our friend Benjamin Buffington, from New-England, who was returning from a viſit to the ſouthern provinces. Thence we croſſed the river Suſquehannah, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland; and, ſoon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exerciſe came upon me, which I often had ſome feeling of ſince my mind was drawn toward theſe parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions.

As the people in this and the ſouthern provinces live much on the labour of ſlaves, many of whom are uſed hardly, my concern was, that I might attend with ſingleneſs of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be ſo ſupported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

The proſpect of ſo weighty a work brought me very low; and ſuch were the conflicts of my ſoul, that I had a near ſympathy with the prophet, in the time of his weakneſs, when he ſaid, "If thou deal thus with me, kill "me, I pray thee, if I have found favour in "thy ſight," Numb. xi. 15. but I ſoon ſaw

that this proceeded from the want of a full reſignation to the divine will. Many were the afflictions which attended me; and in great abaſement, with many tears, my cries were to the Almighty, for his gracious and fatherly aſſiſtance; and then, after a time of deep trial, I was favoured to underſtand the ſtate mentioned by the pſalmiſt, more clearly than ever I had before; to wit: "My ſoul is even "as a weaned child." Pſalm cxxxi. 2. Being thus helped to ſink down into reſignation, I felt a deliverance from that tempeſt in which I had been ſorely exerciſed, and in calmneſs of mind went forward, truſting that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as I faithfully attended to him, would be a counſellor to me in all difficulties.

The ſeventh day of the fifth month, in the year 1757, I lodged at a friend's houſe; and the next day, being the firſt of the week, was at Potapſco meeting; then croſſed Patuxent river, and lodged at a public-houſe.

On the ninth breakfaſted at a friend's houſe; who, afterward, putting us a little on our way, I had converſation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his ſlaves; in which my heart was tender, and I uſed much plainneſs of ſpeech with him, which he appeared to take kindly. We purſued our journey without appointing meetings, being preſſed in mind to be at the yearly-meeting in Virginia; and, in my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry riſe from the center of my mind, thus: O Lord, I am a ſtranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me.

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On the eleventh day of the fifth month, we croſſed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port-Royal: and on the way we happening in company with a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man, I took occaſion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people uſed to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and buſineſs, and thoſe who live on the labour of ſlaves; the former, in my view, being the moſt happy life: with which he concurred, and mentioned the trouble ariſing from the untoward, ſlothful, diſpoſition of the negroes; adding, that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their ſlaves. I replied, that free men, whoſe minds were properly on their buſineſs, found a ſatisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to ſupport others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but ſlavery during life, had not the like inducement to be induſtrious.

After ſome farther converſation, I ſaid, that men having power too often miſapplied it; that though we made ſlaves of the negroes, and the Turks made ſlaves of the Chriſtians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally: which he did not deny; but ſaid, the lives of the negroes were ſo wretched in their own country, that many of them lived better here than there: I only ſaid, there are great odds, in regard to

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us, on what principle we act; and ſo the converſation on that ſubject ended: and I may here add, that another perſon, ſome time afterward, mentioned the wretchedneſs of the negroes, occaſioned by their inteſtine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for ſlaves: to which I then replied, if compaſſion on the Africans, in regard to their domeſtic troubles, were the real motive of our purchaſing them, that ſpirit of tenderneſs, being attended to, would incite us to uſe them kindly; that, as ſtrangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us; and as they are human creatures, whoſe ſouls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the ſame help and comfort from the holy ſcriptures as we do, we could not omit ſuitable endeavours to inſtruct them therein: but while we manifeſt, by our conduct, that our views in purchaſing them are to advance ourſelves; and while our buying captives taken in war animates thoſe parties to puſh on that war, and increaſe deſolation amongſt them, to ſay they live unhappy in Africa, is far from being an argument in our favour: and I farther ſaid, the preſent circumſtances of theſe provinces to me appear difficult; that the ſlaves look like a burthenſome ſtone to ſuch who burthen themſelves with them; and that if the white people retain a reſolution to prefer their outward proſpects of gain to all other conſiderations, and do not act conſcientiouſly toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burthen will

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grow heavier and heavier, till times change in a way diſagreeable to us: at which the perſon appeared very ſerious, and owned, that, in conſidering their condition, and the manner of their treatment in theſe provinces, he had ſometimes thought it might be juſt in the Almighty ſo to order it.

Having thus travelled through Maryland, we came amongſt friends at Cedar-Creek in Virginia, on the twelfth day of the fifth month; and the next day rode, in company with ſeveral friends, a day's journey to Camp-Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a ſenſe I had of the want of divine aid to ſupport me in the various difficulties which attended me; and, in an uncommon diſtreſs of mind, I cried in ſecret to the Moſt High, O Lord, be merciful, I beſeech thee, to thy poor afflicted creature. After ſome time, I felt inward relief; and, ſoon after, a friend in company began to talk in ſupport of the ſlave-trade, and ſaid, the negroes were underſtood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackneſs being the mark God ſet upon him after he murdered Abel his brother; that it was the deſign of Providence they ſhould be ſlaves, as a condition proper to the race of ſo wicked a man as Cain was: then another ſpake in ſupport of what had been ſaid. To all which, I replied in ſubſtance as follows: That Noah and his family were all who ſurvived the flood, according to ſcripture; and, as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly deſtroyed.

deſtroyed. One of them ſaid, that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod, and took a wife; that Nod was a land far diſtant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was ſentenced to be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren, theſe two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for ſlaves. I replied, the flood was a judgement upon the world for its abominations; and it was granted, that Cain's ſtock was the moſt wicked, and therefore unreaſonable to ſuppoſe they were ſpared: as to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by ſome of Noah's family, before Ham married a ſecond time; moreover the text ſaith, "That all fleſh died "that moved upon the earth." Gen. vii. 21. I farther reminded them, how the prophets repeatedly declare, "That the ſon ſhall not "ſuffer for the iniquity of the father; but "every one be anſwerable for his own ſins." I was troubled to perceive the darkneſs of their imaginations; and in ſome preſſure of ſpirit ſaid, the love of eaſe and gain is the motive in general for keeping ſlaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to ſupport a cauſe which is unreaſonable; and added, I have no intereſt on either ſide, ſave only the intereſt which I deſire to have in the truth: and as I believe liberty is their right, and ſee they are not only deprived of it, but treated, in other reſpects, with inhumanity in many places, I believe he, who is a refuge

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for the oppreſſed, will, in his own time, plead their cauſe; and happy will it be for ſuch, as walk in uprightneſs before him: and thus our converſation ended.

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month I was at Camp-Creek monthly meeting, and then rode to the mountains up James-River, and had a meeting at a friend's houſe; in both which I felt ſorrow of heart, and my tears were poured out before the Lord, who was pleaſed to afford a degree of ſtrength by which way was opened to clear my mind amongſt friends in thoſe places. From thence I went to Fort-Creek, and ſo to Cedar-Creek again; at which place I had a meeting; here I found a tender ſeed: and as I was preſerved in the miniſtry to keep low with the truth, the ſame truth in their hearts anſwered it, that it was a time of mutual refreſhment from the preſence of the Lord. I lodged at James Standley's, father of William Standley, one of the young men who ſuffered impriſonment at Wincheſter, laſt ſummer, on account of their teſtimony againſt fighting; and I had ſome ſatisfactory converſation with him concerning it. Hence I went to the Swamp-meeting, and to Wayanoke-meeting; and then croſſed James-River, and lodged near Burleigh. From the time of my entering Maryland I had been much under ſorrow, which ſo increaſed upon me, that my mind was almoſt overwhelmed; and I may ſay, with the pſalmiſt, "in my diſtreſs I "called upon the Lord, and cried to my "God;"

" God;" who, in infinite goodneſs, looked upon my affliction, and in my private retirement ſent the Comforter for my relief: for which I humbly bleſs his holy name.

The ſenſe I had of the ſtate of the churches brought a weight of diſtreſs upon me: the gold to me appeared dim, and the fine gold changed; and though this is the caſe too generally, yet the ſenſe of it in theſe parts hath, in a particular manner, borne heavy upon me. It appeared to me, that, through the prevailing of the ſpirit of this world, the minds of many were brought to an inward deſolation; and, inſtead of the ſpirit of meekneſs, gentleneſs, and heavenly wiſdom, which are the neceſſary companions of the true ſheep of Chriſt, a ſpirit of fierceneſs, and the love of dominion, too generally prevailed. From ſmall beginnings in errors, great buildings, by degrees, are raiſed; and from one age to another are more and more ſtrengthened by the general concurrence of the people: and, as men obtain reputation by their profeſſion of the truth, their virtues are mentioned as arguments in favour of general error; and thoſe of leſs note, to juſtify themſelves, ſay, ſuch and ſuch good men did the like. By what other ſteps could the people of Judah ariſe to that height in wickedneſs, as to give juſt ground for the prophet Iſaiah to declare, in the name of the Lord, " that *none* " calleth for juſtice, nor *any* pleadeth for " truth :" Iſaiah lix. 4. or for the Almighty to call upon the great city of Jeruſalem, juſt

before

before the Babyloniſh captivity, "If ye can "find a man, if there be any who executeth "judgement, that ſeeketh the truth, and I "will pardon it." Jer. v. 1. The proſpect of a road lying open to the ſame degeneracy, in ſome parts of this newly-ſettled land of America, in reſpect to our conduct toward the negroes, deeply bowed my mind in this journey; and, though, to briefly relate how theſe people are treated is no agreeable work; yet, after often reading over the notes I made as I travelled, I find my mind engaged to preſerve them. Many of the white people in thoſe provinces take little or no care of negro marriages; and, when negroes marry after their own way, ſome make ſo little account of thoſe marriages, that, with views of outward intereſt, they often part men from their wives by ſelling them far aſunder; which is common when eſtates are ſold by executors at vendue. Many, whoſe labour is heavy, being followed, at their buſineſs in the field, by a man with a whip, hired for that purpoſe, have, in common, little elſe allowed but one peck of Indian corn and ſome ſalt for one week, with a few potatoes; the potatoes they commonly raiſe by their labour on the firſt day of the week.

The correction, enſuing on their diſobedience to overſeers, or ſlothfulneſs in buſineſs, is often very ſevere, and ſometimes deſperate.

The men and women have many times ſcarce clothes enough to hide their nakedneſs, and boys and girls, ten and twelve years old, are often

often quite naked amongſt their maſter's children: ſome of our ſociety, and ſome of the ſociety called New-Lights, uſe ſome endeavours to inſtruct thoſe they have in reading; but, in common, this is not only neglected, but diſapproved. Theſe are the people by whoſe labour the other inhabitants are in a great meaſure ſupported, and many of them in the luxuries of life: theſe are the people who have made no agreement to ſerve us, and who have not forfeited their liberty that we know of: theſe are ſouls for whom Chriſt died, and, for our conduct toward them, we muſt anſwer before him who is no reſpecter of perſons.

They who know the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom he hath ſent, and are thus acquainted with the merciful, benevolent, goſpel ſpirit, will therein perceive that the indignation of God is kindled againſt oppreſſion and cruelty; and, in beholding the great diſtreſs of ſo numerous a people, will find cauſe for mourning.

From my lodging I went to Burleigh meeting, where I felt my mind drawn into a quiet reſigned ſtate; and, after long ſilence, I felt an engagement to ſtand up; and, through the powerful operation of divine love, we were favoured with an edifying meeting. The next meeting we had was at Black-Water; and ſo to the yearly-meeting at the Weſtern Branch: when buſineſs began, ſome queries were conſidered, by ſome of their members, to be now produced; and, if approved,

proved, to be anſwered hereafter by their reſpective monthly-meetings. They were the Pennſylvania queries, which had been examined by a committee of Virginia yearly-meeting appointed the laſt year, who made ſome alterations in them; one of which alterations was made in favour of a cuſtom which troubled me. The query was, "Are "there any concerned in the importation of "negroes, or buying them after imported?" which they altered thus: "Are there any "concerned in the importation of negroes, or "buying them to trade in?" As one query admitted with unanimity was, "Are any con-"cerned in buying or vending goods unlaw-"fully imported, or prize goods?" I found my mind engaged to ſay, that as we profeſſed the truth, and were there aſſembled to ſupport the teſtimony of it, it was neceſſary for us to dwell deep, and act in that wiſdom which is pure, or otherwiſe we could not proſper. I then mentioned their alteration; and, referring to the laſt-mentioned query, added, as purchaſing any merchandize, taken by the ſword, was always allowed to be inconſiſtent with our principles; negroes being captives of war, or taken by ſtealth, thoſe circumſtances make it inconſiſtent with our teſtimony to buy them; and their being our fellow-creatures, who are ſold as ſlaves, adds greatly to the iniquity. Friends appeared attentive to what was ſaid; ſome expreſſed a care and concern about their negroes; none made any objection, by way of

reply to what I ſaid; but the query was admitted as they had altered it. As ſome of their members have heretofore traded in negroes, as in other merchandize, this query, being admitted, will be one ſtep farther than they have hitherto gone: and I did not ſee it my duty to preſs for an alteration; but felt eaſy to leave it all to him, who alone is able to turn the hearts of the mighty, and make way for the ſpreading of truth on the earth, by means agreeable to his infinite wiſdom. But, in regard to thoſe they already had, I felt my mind engaged to labour with them; and ſaid, that, as we believe the ſcriptures were given forth by holy men, as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt, and many of us know by experience that they are often helpful and comfortable, and believe ourſelves bound in duty to teach our children to read them, I believe that, if we were diveſted of all ſelfiſh views, the ſame good ſpirit, that gave them forth, would engage us to teach the negroes to read, that they might have the benefit of them: ſome, amongſt them, at this time, manifeſted a concern in regard to taking more care in the education of their negroes.

On the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month, at the houſe where I lodged, was a meeting of miniſters and elders, at the ninth hour in the morning; at which time I found an engagement to ſpeak freely and plainly to them concerning their ſlaves; mentioning, how they, as the firſt rank in the ſociety,

whoſe

whoſe conduct in that caſe was much noticed by others, were under the ſtronger obligations to look carefully to themſelves: expreſſing how needful it was for them, in that ſituation, to be thoroughly diveſted of all ſelfiſh views; that living in the pure truth, and acting conſcientiouſly toward thoſe people in their education and otherwiſe, they might be inſtrumental in helping forward a work ſo neceſſary, and ſo much neglected amongſt them. At the twelfth hour the meeting of worſhip began, which was a ſolid meeting.

On the thirtieth day, about the tenth hour, friends met to finiſh their buſineſs, and then the meeting for worſhip enſued, which to me was a laborious time; but, through the goodneſs of the Lord, truth, I believe, gained ſome ground; and it was a ſtrengthening opportunity to the honeſt-hearted.

About this time I wrote an epiſtle to friends in the back-ſettlements of North Carolina, as follows:

To friends at their monthly-meeting at New-Garden and Cane-Creek, in North-Carolina.

Dear friends,

IT having pleaſed the Lord to draw me forth on a viſit to ſome parts of Virginia and Carolina, you have often been in my mind; and though my way is not clear to

come in perſon to viſit you, yet I feel it in my heart to communicate a few things, as they ariſe in the love of truth. Firſt, my dear friends, dwell in humility, and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you, that ſo your eyes being ſingle to the Lord, you may be preſerved in the way of ſafety. Where people let looſe their minds after the love of outward things, and are more engaged in purſuing the profits, and ſeeking the friendſhips, of this world, than to be inwardly acquainted with the way of true peace; ſuch walk in a vain ſhadow, while the true comfort of life is wanting: their examples are often hurtful to others; and their treaſures, thus collected, do many times prove dangerous ſnares to their children.

But where people are ſincerely devoted to follow Chriſt, and dwell under the influence of his holy Spirit, their ſtability and firmneſs, through a divine bleſſing, is at times like dew on the tender plants round about them, and the weightineſs of their ſpirits ſecretly works on the minds of others; and in this condition, through the ſpreading influence of divine love, they feel a care over the flock; and way is opened for maintaining good order in the ſociety: and though we meet with oppoſition from another ſpirit, yet, as there is a dwelling in meekneſs, feeling our ſpirits ſubject, and moving only in the gentle peaceable wiſdom, the inward reward of quietneſs will be greater than all our difficulties.

difficulties. Where the pure life is kept to, and meetings of diſcipline are held in the authority of it, we find by experience that they are comfortable, and tend to the health of the body.

While I write, the youth come freſh in my way: — Dear young people, chooſe God for your portion; love his truth, and be not aſhamed of it; chooſe for your company ſuch as ſerve him in uprightneſs: and ſhun, as moſt dangerous, the converſation of thoſe whoſe lives are of an ill ſavour; for, by frequenting ſuch company, ſome hopeful young people have come to great loſs, and have been drawn from leſs evils to greater, to their utter ruin. In the bloom of youth no ornament is ſo lovely as that of virtue, nor any enjoyments equal to thoſe which we partake of, in fully reſigning ourſelves to the divine will: theſe enjoyments add ſweetneſs to all other comforts, and give true ſatisfaction in company and converſation, where people are mutually acquainted with it; and, as your minds are thus ſeaſoned with the truth, you will find ſtrength to abide ſtedfaſt to the teſtimony of it, and be prepared for ſervices in the church.

And now, dear friends and brethren, as you are improving a wilderneſs, and may be numbered amongſt the firſt planters in one part of a province, I beſeech you, in the love of Jeſus Chriſt, to wiſely conſider the force of your examples, and think how much your ſucceſſors may be thereby affected: it is a

help in a country, yea, and a great favour and a bleſſing, when cuſtoms, firſt ſettled, are agreeable to ſound wiſdom: ſo, when they are otherwiſe, the effect of them is grievous; and children feel themſelves encompaſſed with difficulties prepared for them by their predeceſſors.

As moderate care and exerciſe, under the direction of true wiſdom, are uſeful both to mind and body; ſo, by this means in general, the real wants of life are eaſily ſupplied: our gracious Father having ſo proportioned one to the other, that keeping in the true medium we may paſs on quietly. Where ſlaves are purchaſed to do our labour, numerous difficulties attend it. To rational creatures bondage is uneaſy, and frequently occaſions fourneſs and diſcontent in them; which affects the family, and ſuch as claim the maſtery over them: and thus people and their children are many times encompaſſed with vexations, which ariſe from their applying to wrong methods to get a living.

I have been informed that there is a large number of friends in your parts, who have no ſlaves; and, in tender and moſt affectionate love, I beſeech you to keep clear from purchaſing any. Look, my dear friends, to divine Providence; and follow in ſimplicity that exerciſe of body, that plainneſs and frugality, which true wiſdom leads to; ſo will you be preſerved from thoſe dangers which attend ſuch as are aiming at outward eaſe and greatneſs.

Treaſures,

Treaſures, though ſmall, attained on a true principle of virtue, are ſweet in the poſſeſſion; and, while we walk in the light of the Lord, there is true comfort and ſatisfaction. Here, neither the murmurs of an oppreſſed people, nor an uneaſy conſcience, nor anxious thoughts about the events of things, hinder the enjoyment of it.

When we look toward the end of life, and think on the diviſion of our ſubſtance among our ſucceſſors; if we know that it was collected in the fear of the Lord, in honeſty, in equity, and in uprightneſs of heart before him, we may conſider it as his gift to us; and, with a ſingle eye to his bleſſing, beſtow it on thoſe we leave behind us. Such is the happineſs of the plain ways of true virtue. "The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace; "and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs "and aſſurance for ever." Iſa. xxxii. 17.

Dwell here, my dear friends; and then, in remote and ſolitary deſarts, you may find true peace and ſatisfaction. If the Lord be our God, in truth and reality, there is ſafety for us; for he is a ſtrong-hold in the day of trouble, and knoweth them that truſt in him.

Iſle of Wight County, in Virginia,
29th of the 5th month, 1757.

From the yearly-meeting in Virginia, I went to Carolina; and, on the firſt day of the ſixth month, was at Wells monthly-meeting, where the ſpring of the goſpel miniſtry was opened, and the love of Jeſus Chriſt experienced amongſt us: to his name be the praiſe!

Here my brother joined with ſome friends from New-Garden, who were going homeward; and I went next to Simon's-Creek monthly-meeting, where I was ſilent during the meeting for worſhip: when buſineſs came on, my mind was exerciſed concerning the poor ſlaves; but did not feel my way clear to ſpeak: in this condition I was bowed in ſpirit before the Lord; and with tears and inward ſupplication beſought him ſo to open my underſtanding, that I might know his will concerning me; and, at length, my mind was ſettled in ſilence: near the end of their buſineſs, a member of their meeting expreſſed a concern, that had ſome time lain upon him, on account of friends ſo much neglecting their duty in the education of their ſlaves; and propoſed having meetings ſometimes appointed for them on a week-day, to be only attended by ſome friends to be named in their monthly meetings: many preſent appeared to unite with the propoſal: one ſaid, he had often wondered that they, being our fellow-creatures and capable of religious underſtanding, had been ſo exceedingly neglected: another expreſſed the like concern, and appeared zealous, that friends, in future, might more cloſely conſider it: at length

length a minute was made: and the farther conſideration of it referred to their next monthly-meeting. The friend who made this propoſal had negroes: he told me, that he was at New-Garden; about two hundred and fifty miles from home, and came back alone; and that in this ſolitary journey, this exerciſe, in regard to the education of their negroes, was, from time to time, renewed in his mind. A friend of ſome note in Virginia, who had ſlaves, told me, that he being far from home on a loneſome journey, had many ſerious thoughts about them; and that his mind was ſo impreſſed therewith, that he believed that he ſaw a time coming, when divine Providence would alter the circumſtance of theſe people, reſpecting their condition as ſlaves.

From hence I went to Newbegun-Creek, and ſat a conſiderable time in much weakneſs; then I felt truth open the way to ſpeak a little in much plainneſs and ſimplicity, till, at length, through the increaſe of divine love amongſt us, we had a ſeaſoning opportunity. From thence to the head of Little-River, on a firſt-day, where was a crouded meeting; and, I believe, it was, through divine goodneſs, made profitable to ſome. Thence to the Old-Neck; where I was led into a careful ſearching out the ſecret workings of the myſtery of iniquity, which, under a cover of religion, exalts itſelf againſt that pure ſpirit, which leads in the way of meekneſs and ſelf-denial. From thence to

Piney-

Pineywoods: this was the laſt meeting I was at in Carolina, and was large; and, my heart being deeply engaged, I was drawn forth into a fervent labour amongſt them.

From hence I went back into Virginia, and had a meeting near James Cowpland's; it was a time of inward ſuffering; but, through the goodneſs of the Lord, I was made content: then to another meeting; where, through the renewings of pure love, we had a very comfortable ſeaſon.

Travelling up and down of late, I have had renewed evidences, that to be faithful to the Lord, and content with his will concerning me, is a moſt neceſſary and uſeful leſſon for me to be learning; looking leſs at the effects of my labour, than at the pure motion and reality of the concern, as it ariſes from heavenly love. In the Lord Jehovah is everlaſting ſtrength; and as the mind, by a humble reſignation, is united to him; and we utter words from an inward knowledge that they ariſe from the heavenly ſpring, though our way may be difficult, and require cloſe attention to keep in it; and though the manner in which we may be led may tend to our own abaſement; yet, if we continue in patience and meekneſs, heavenly peace is the reward of our labours.

From thence I went to Curles meeting; which, though ſmall, was reviving to the honeſt-hearted. Thence to Black-Creek and Caroline meetings; from whence, accompanied by William Standley, before-mentioned,

we

we rode to Gooſe-Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles.—We lodged the firſt night, at a public-houſe; the ſecond, in the woods; and, the next day, we reached a friend's houſe, at Gooſe-Creek. In the woods we lay under ſome diſadvantage, having no fireworks nor bells for our horſes; but we ſtopped a little before night, and let them feed on the wild graſs which was in plenty; in the mean time cutting with our knives a ſtore againſt night, and then tying them, and gathering ſome buſhes under an oak, we lay down; but, the muſquetoes being plenty, and the ground damp, I ſlept but little: thus, lying in the wilderneſs, and looking at the ſtars, I was led to contemplate on the condition of our firſt parents, when they were ſent forth from the garden; but the Almighty, though they had been diſobedient, continued to be a father to them, and ſhewed them what tended to their felicity, as intelligent creatures, and was acceptable to him. To provide things relative to our outward living, in the way of true wiſdom, is good; and the gift of improving in things uſeful is a good gift, and comes from the Father of lights. Many have had this gift; and, from age to age, there have been improvements of this kind made in the world: but ſome, not keeping to the pure gift, have, in the creaturely cunning and ſelf-exaltation, ſought out many inventions; which inventions of men are diſtinct from that uprightneſs in which man was created;

as

as the firſt motion to them was evil, ſo the effects have been and are evil. At this day, it is as neceſſary for us conſtantly to attend on the heavenly gift, to be qualified to uſe rightly the good things in this life amidſt great improvements, as it was for our firſt parents, when they were without any improvements, without any friend or father but God only.

I was at a meeting at Gooſe-Creek; and next at a monthly-meeting at Fairfax; where, through the gracious dealing of the Almighty with us, his power prevailed over many hearts. Thence to Manoquacy and Pipe-Creek, in Maryland; at both which places I had cauſe humbly to adore him, who ſupported me through many exerciſes, and by whoſe help I was enabled to reach the true witneſs in the hearts of others: there were ſome hopeful young people in thoſe parts. Thence I had meetings at John Everit's in Monalen, and at Huntingdon; and I was made humbly thankful to the Lord, who opened my heart amongſt the people in theſe new ſettlements, ſo that it was a time of encouragement to the honeſt-minded.

At Monalen, a friend gave me ſome account of a religious ſociety, among the Dutch, called mennoniſts; and, amongſt other things, related a paſſage in ſubſtance as follows:— One of the mennoniſts having acquaintance with a man of another ſociety at a conſiderable diſtance, and being with his waggon on buſineſs near the houſe of his ſaid acquaintance,

tance, and night coming on, he had thoughts of putting up with him; but paſſing by his fields, and obſerving the diſtreſſed appearance of his ſlaves, he kindled a fire in the woods hard by, and lay there that night: his ſaid acquaintance hearing where he lodged, and afterward meeting the mennoniſt, told him of it; adding, he ſhould have been heartily welcome at his houſe; and, from their acquaintance in former time, wondered at his conduct in that caſe: the mennoniſt replied, ever ſince I lodged by thy field, I have wanted an opportunity to ſpeak with thee: the matter was; I intended to have come to thy houſe for entertainment, but, ſeeing thy ſlaves at their work, and obſerving the manner of their dreſs, I had no liking to come to partake with thee: then admoniſhed him to uſe them with more humanity; and added, as I lay by the fire that night, I thought that, as I was a man of ſubſtance, thou wouldſt have received me freely; but, if I had been as poor as one of thy ſlaves, and had no power to help myſelf, I ſhould have received from thy hand no kinder uſage than they.

Hence I was at three meetings in my way: and ſo I went home, under a humbling ſenſe of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me, in preſerving me through many trials and afflictions in my journey. I was out about two months, and travelled about eleven hundred and fifty miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The draughting of the militia in New-Jersey to serve in the army; with some observations on the state of the members of our society at that time — His visit to friends in Pennsylvania, accompanied by Benjamin Jones—Proceedings at the monthly, quarterly, and yearly, meetings, in Philadelphia, respecting those who keep slaves.

ON the ninth day of the eighth month, in the year 1757, at night, orders came to the military officers in our county, (Burlington,) directing them to draught the militia, and prepare a number of men to go off as soldiers, to the relief of the English, at Fort William-Henry, in New-York government: a few days after which there was a general review of the militia, at Mount-Holly, and a number of men chosen and sent off under some officers. Shortly after, there came orders to draught three times as many, to hold themselves in readiness to march when fresh orders came: and, on the seventeenth day of the eighth month, there was a meeting of the military officers at Mount-Holly, who agreed on a draught; and orders were sent to the men, so chosen, to meet their respective captains at set times and places; those in our township to meet at Mount-Holly; amongst whom was a considerable number of our society.

ſociety. My mind being affected herewith, I had freſh opportunity to ſee and conſider the advantage of living in the real ſubſtance of religion, where practice doth harmonize with principle. Amongſt the officers are men of underſtanding, who have ſome regard to ſincerity where they ſee it; and in the execution of their office, when they have men to deal with whom they believe to be upright-hearted, to put them to trouble, on account of ſcruples of conſcience, is a painful taſk, and likely to be avoided as much as eaſily may be: but where men profeſs to be ſo meek and heavenly-minded, and to have their truſt ſo firmly ſettled in God, that they cannot join in wars, and yet, by their ſpirit and conduct in common life, manifeſt a contrary diſpoſition, their difficulties are great at ſuch a time.

Officers, in great anxiety, endeavouring to get troops to anſwer the demands of their ſuperiors, ſeeing men, who are inſincere, pretend ſcruple of conſcience in hopes of being excuſed from a dangerous employment, ſuch are likely to be roughly handled. In this time of commotion ſome of our young men left the parts, and tarried abroad till it was over; ſome came, and propoſed to go as ſoldiers; others appeared to have a real tender ſcruple in their minds againſt joining in wars, and were much humbled under the apprehenſion of a trial ſo near: I had converſation with ſeveral of them to my ſatisfaction. At the ſet time when the captain came

to town, ſome of thoſe laſt-mentioned went and told him in ſubſtance as follows:---That they could not bear arms for conſcience-ſake; nor could they hire any to go in their places, being reſigned as to the event of it: at length the captain acquainted them all, that they might return home for the preſent, and required them to provide themſelves as ſoldiers, and to be in readineſs to march when called upon. This was ſuch a time as I had not ſeen before; and yet I may ſay, with thankfulneſs to the Lord, that I believed this trial was intended for our good; and I was favoured with reſignation to him. The French army, taking the fort they were beſieging, deſtroyed it and went away: the company of men firſt draughted, after ſome days march, had orders to return home; and thoſe on the ſecond draught were no more called upon on that occaſion.

On the fourth day of the fourth month, in the year 1758, orders came to ſome officers, in Mount-Holly, to prepare quarters, a ſhort time, for about one hundred ſoldiers: and an officer and two other men, all inhabitants of our town, came to my houſe; and the officer told me, that he came to ſpeak with me, to provide lodging and entertainment for two ſoldiers, there being ſix ſhillings a week per man allowed as pay for it. The caſe being new and unexpected, I made no anſwer ſuddenly; but ſat a time ſilent, my mind being inward: I was fully convinced, that the proceedings in wars are inconſiſtent with the

purity

purity of the Chriſtian religion; and to be hired to entertain men, who were then under pay as ſoldiers, was a difficulty with me. I expected they had legal authority for what they did; and, after a ſhort time, I ſaid to the officer, if the men are ſent here for entertainment, I believe I ſhall not refuſe to admit them into my houſe; but the nature of the caſe is ſuch, that I expect I cannot keep them on hire: one of the men intimated, that he thought I might do it conſiſtent with my religious principles: to which I made no reply; as believing ſilence, at that time, beſt for me. Though they ſpake of two, there came only one, who tarried at my houſe about two weeks, and behaved himſelf civilly; and when the officer came to pay me, I told him I could not take pay for it, having admitted him into my houſe in a paſſive obedience to authority. I was on horſeback when he ſpake to me: and, as I turned from him, he ſaid, he was obliged to me: to which I ſaid nothing; but, thinking on the expreſſion, I grew uneaſy; and afterwards, being near where he lived, I went and told him on what grounds I refuſed taking pay for keeping the ſoldier.

Near the beginning of the year 1758, I went one evening, in company with a friend, to viſit a ſick perſon; and, before our return, we were told of a woman living near, who, of late, had ſeveral days been diſconſolate, occaſioned by a dream; wherein death, and the judgements of the Almighty after

death, were repreſented to her mind in a moving manner: her ſadneſs, on that account, being worn off, the friend, with whom I was in company, went to ſee her, and had ſome religious converſation with her and her huſband: with this viſit they were ſomewhat affected; and the man, with many tears, expreſſed his ſatisfaction; and, in a ſhort time after, the poor man being on the river in a ſtorm of wind, he, with one more, was drowned.

In the eighth month of the year 1758, having had drawings in my mind to be at the quarterly-meeting in Cheſter county, and at ſome meetings in the county of Philadelphia, I went firſt to ſaid quarterly-meeting, which was large, and ſeveral weighty matters came under conſideration and debate; and the Lord was pleaſed to qualify ſome of his ſervants with ſtrength and firmneſs to bear the burthen of the day: though I ſaid but little, my mind was deeply exerciſed; and, under a ſenſe of God's love, in the anointing and fitting ſome young men for his work, I was comforted, and my heart was tendered before him. From hence I went to the youths meeting at Darby, where my beloved friend and brother, Benjamin Jones, met me, by an appointment before I left home, to join in the viſit: and we were at Radnor, Merion, Richland, North-Wales, Plymouth, and Abington meetings; and had cauſe to bow in reverence before the Lord, our gracious God, by whoſe help way was opened for

for us from day to day. I was out about two weeks, and rode about two hundred miles.

The monthly-meeting of Philadelphia having been under a concern on account of ſome friends who this ſummer (1758) had bought negro ſlaves, the ſaid meeting moved it to their quarterly-meeting, to have the minute reconſidered in the yearly-meeting, which was made laſt on that ſubject: and the ſaid quarterly-meeting appointed a committee to conſider it, and report to their next; which committee having met once and adjourned, I, going to Philadelphia to meet a committee of the yearly-meeting, was in town the evening on which the quarterly-meeting's committee met the ſecond time; and, finding an inclination to ſit with them, was, with ſome others, admitted; and friends had a weighty conference on the ſubject: and, ſoon after their next quarterly-meeting, I heard that the caſe was coming to our yearly-meeting; which brought a weighty exerciſe upon me, and under a ſenſe of my own infirmities, and the great danger I felt of turning aſide from perfect purity, my mind was often drawn to retire alone, and put up my prayers to the Lord, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſtrengthen me; that, ſetting aſide all views of ſelf-intereſt and the friendſhip of this world, I might ſtand fully reſigned to his holy will.

In this yearly-meeting, ſeveral weighty matters were conſidered; and, toward the laſt,

that in relation to dealing with perſons who purchaſe ſlaves. During the ſeveral ſittings of the ſaid meeting my mind was frequently covered with inward prayer, and I could ſay, with David, " That tears were my meat day " and night." The caſe of ſlave-keeping lay heavy upon me; nor did I find any engagement to ſpeak directly to any other matter before the meeting. Now, when this caſe was opened, ſeveral faithful friends ſpake weightily thereto, with which I was comforted; and, feeling a concern to caſt in my mite, I ſaid in ſubſtance as follows:

" In the difficulties attending us in this life, nothing is more precious than the mind of truth inwardly manifeſted; and it is my earneſt deſire that, in this weighty matter, we may be ſo truly humbled as to be favoured with a clear underſtanding of the mind of truth, and follow it; this would be of more advantage to the ſociety, than any medium not in the clearneſs of divine wiſdom. The caſe is difficult to ſome who have them; but if ſuch ſet aſide all ſelf-intereſt, and come to be weaned from the deſire of getting eſtates, or even from holding them together, when truth requires the contrary, I believe way will open that they will know how to ſteer through thoſe difficulties."

Many friends appeared to be deeply bowed under the weight of the work; and manifeſted much firmneſs in their love to the cauſe of truth and univerſal righteouſneſs on the earth: and, though none did openly juſtify the

the practice of ſlave-keeping in general, yet ſome appeared concerned, leſt the meeting ſhould go into ſuch meaſures as might give uneaſineſs to many brethren; alledging, that if friends patiently continued under the exerciſe, the Lord, in time to come, might open a way for the deliverance of theſe people: and, I finding an engagement to ſpeak, ſaid, "My mind is often led to conſider the purity of the divine Being, and the juſtice of his judgements; and herein my ſoul is covered with awfulneſs: I cannot omit to hint of ſome caſes, where people have not been treated with the purity of juſtice, and the event hath been lamentable: many ſlaves on this continent are oppreſſed, and their cries have reached the ears of the Moſt High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgements, that he cannot be partial in our favour. In infinite love and goodneſs, he hath opened our underſtandings, from one time to another, concerning our duty towards this people; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be ſenſible of what he requires of us, and, through a reſpect to the private intereſt of ſome perſons, or through a regard to ſome friendſhips which do not ſtand on an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmneſs and conſtancy, ſtill waiting for ſome extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, it may be by terrible things in righteouſneſs God may anſwer us in this matter."

Many faithful brethren laboured with great firmneſs; and the love of truth, in a good

degree, prevailed. Several friends, who had negroes, expreſſed their deſire that a rule might be made, to deal with ſuch friends as offenders who bought ſlaves in future: to this it was anſwered, that the root of this evil would never be effectually ſtruck at, until a thorough ſearch was made into the circumſtances of ſuch friends as kept negroes, with reſpect to the righteouſneſs of their motives in keeping them, that impartial juſtice might be adminiſtered throughout. Several friends expreſſed their deſire, that a viſit might be made to ſuch friends as kept ſlaves: and many friends ſaid, that they believed liberty was the negroes right; to which, at length, no oppoſition was made publicly: a minute was made more full on that ſubject than any heretofore; and the names of ſeveral friends entered, who were free to join in a viſit to ſuch as kept ſlaves.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

His viſiting the quarterly-meetings in Cheſter county; and afterwards joining with Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough in a viſit to ſuch as kept ſlaves there—Some obſervations on the conduct ſuch ſhould maintain as are concerned to ſpeak in meetings for diſcipline—Several more viſits to ſuch as kept ſlaves: and to friends near Salem—Some account of the yearly meeting in the year 1759; and of the increaſing concern, in divers provinces, to labour againſt buying and keeping ſlaves—The yearly-meeting epiſtle.

ON the eleventh day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, I ſet out for Concord; the quarterly-meeting, heretofore held there, was now, by reaſon of a great increaſe of members, divided into two by the agreement of friends, at our laſt yearly meeting. Here I met with our beloved friends, Samuel Spavold and Mary Kirby, from England, and with Joſeph White, from Bucks county, who had taken leave of his family in order to go on a religious viſit to friends in England; and, through divine goodneſs, we were favoured with a ſtrengthening opportunity together.

After this meeting I joined with my friends, Daniel Stanton and John Scarborough, in

viſiting friends who had ſlaves; and at night we had a family-meeting at William Trimble's, many young people being there; and it was a precious reviving opportunity. Next morning we had a comfortable ſitting with a ſick neighbour; and thence to the burial of the corpſe of a friend at Uwchland meeting, at which were many people, and it was a time of divine favour; after which, we viſited ſome who had ſlaves; and, at night, had a family-meeting at a friend's houſe, where the channel of goſpel-love was opened, and my mind was comforted after a hard day's labour. The next day we were at Goſhen monthly-meeting: and thence, on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1758, attended the quarterly-meeting at London-Grove, it being the firſt held at that place. Here we met again with all the before-mentioned friends, and had ſome edifying meetings: and, near the concluſion of the meeting for buſineſs, friends were incited to conſtancy in ſupporting the teſtimony of truth, and reminded of the neceſſity which the diſciples of Chriſt are under to attend principally to his buſineſs, as he is pleaſed to open it to us: and to be particularly careful to have our minds redeemed from the love of wealth; to have our outward affairs in as little room as may be; that no temporal concerns may entangle our affections, or hinder us from diligently following the dictates of truth, in labouring to promote the pure ſpirit of meekneſs and heavenly-mindedneſs amongſt

mongſt the children of men in theſe days of calamity and diſtreſs, wherein God is viſiting our land with his juſt judgements.

Each of theſe quarterly-meetings was large, and ſat near eight hours. Here I had occaſion to conſider, that it is a weighty thing to ſpeak much in large meetings for buſineſs: firſt, except our minds are rightly prepared, and we clearly underſtand the caſe we ſpeak to, inſtead of forwarding, we hinder, buſineſs, and make more labour for thoſe on whom the burthen of the work is laid.

If ſelfiſh views, or a partial ſpirit, have any room in our minds, we are unfit for the Lord's work; if we have a clear proſpect of the buſineſs, and proper weight on our minds to ſpeak, it behoves us to avoid uſeleſs apologies and repetitions: where people are gathered from far, and adjourning a meeting of buſineſs is attended with great difficulty, it behoves all to be cautious how they detain a meeting; eſpecially when they have ſat ſix or ſeven hours, and have a great diſtance to ride home. After this meeting I rode home.

In the beginning of the twelfth month of the year 1758 I joined in company with my friends, John Sykes and Daniel Stanton, in viſiting ſuch as had ſlaves: ſome, whoſe hearts were rightly exerciſed about them, appeared to be glad of our viſit; but in ſome places our way was more difficult; and I often ſaw the neceſſity of keeping down to that root from whence our concern proceeded;

and

and have cauſe, in reverend thankfulneſs, humbly to bow down before the Lord, who was near to me, and preſerved my mind in calmneſs under ſome ſharp conflicts, and begat a ſpirit of ſympathy and tenderneſs in me toward ſome who were grievouſly entangled by the ſpirit of this world.

In the firſt month of the year 1759, having found my mind drawn to viſit ſome of the more active members, in our ſociety at Philadelphia, who had ſlaves, I met my friend John Churchman there, by an agreement: and we continued about a week in the city. We viſited ſome that were ſick, and ſome widows and their families; and the other part of our time was moſtly employed in viſiting ſuch as had ſlaves — It was a time of deep exerciſe, looking often to the Lord for his aſſiſtance; who, in unſpeakable kindneſs, favoured us with the influence of that ſpirit, which crucifies to the greatneſs and ſplendor of this world, and enabled us to go through ſome heavy labours, in which we found peace.

On the twenty-fourth day of the third month, of this year, I was at our general ſpring-meeting at Philadelphia: after which, I again joined with John Churchman on a viſit to ſome more who had ſlaves in Philadelphia; and, with thankfulneſs to our heavenly Father, I may ſay, that divine love and a true ſympathiſing tenderneſs of heart prevailed at times in this ſervice.

Having,

Having, at times, perceived a ſhyneſs in ſome friends, of conſiderable note, towards me, I found an engagement in goſpel love to pay a viſit to one of them; and, as I dwelt under the exerciſe, I felt a reſignedneſs in my mind to go: ſo I went, and told him, in private, I had a deſire to have an opportunity with him alone; to which he readily agreed: and then, in the fear of the Lord, things relating to that ſhyneſs were ſearched to the bottom; and we had a large conference, which, I believe, was of uſe to both of us, and am thankful that way was opened for it.

On the fourteenth day of the ſixth month, in the ſame year, having felt drawings in my mind to viſit friends about Salem, and having the approbation of our monthly-meeting therein, I attended their quarterly-meeting, and was out ſeven days, and at ſeven meetings; in ſome of which I was chiefly ſilent, and in others, through the baptizing power of truth, my heart was enlarged in heavenly love, and found a near fellowſhip with the brethren and ſiſters, in the manifold trials attending their Chriſtian progreſs through this world.

In the ſeventh month, I found an increaſing concern on my mind to viſit ſome active members in our ſociety who had ſlaves; and, having no opportunity of the company of ſuch as were named on the minutes of the yearly-meeting, I went alone to their houſes, and, in the fear of the Lord,

acquainted

acquainted them with the exerciſe I was under: and thus, ſometimes, by a few words, I found myſelf diſcharged from a heavy burthen.

After this, our friend, John Churchman, coming into our province with a view to be at ſome meetings, and to join again in the viſit to thoſe who had ſlaves, I bore him company in the ſaid viſit to ſome active members, and found inward ſatisfaction.

At our yearly-meeting, in the year 1759, we had ſome weighty ſeaſons; where the power of truth was largely extended, to the ſtrengthening of the honeſt-minded. As friends read over the epiſtles, to be ſent to the yearly-meetings along this continent, I obſerved in moſt of them, both this year and laſt, it was recommended to friends to labour againſt buying and keeping ſlaves; and in ſome of them cloſely treated upon. This practice had long been a heavy exerciſe to me, and I have often waded through mortifying labours on that account; and, at times, in ſome meetings been almoſt alone therein. Now, obſerving the increaſing concern in our religious ſociety, and ſeeing how the Lord was raiſing up and qualifying ſervants for his work, not only in this reſpect, but for promoting the cauſe of truth in general, I was humbly bowed in thankfulneſs before him.

This meeting continued near a week; and, for ſeveral days, in the forepart of it, my mind was drawn into a deep inward ſtillneſs; and being, at times, covered with the ſpirit of ſupplication,

plication, my heart was ſecretly poured out before the Lord: and, near the concluſion of the meeting for buſineſs, way opened that, in in the pure flowings of divine love, I expreſſed what lay upon me; which, as it then aroſe in my mind, was "firſt to ſhew how deep anſwers to deep in the hearts of the ſincere and upright;" though, in their different growths they may not all have attained to the ſame clearneſs in ſome points relating to our teſtimony: and I was led to mention the integrity and conſtancy of many martyrs, who gave their lives for the teſtimony of Jeſus; and yet, in ſome points, held doctrines diſtinguiſhable from ſome which we hold: and that, in all ages, where people were faithful to the light and underſtanding which the Moſt High afforded them, they found acceptance with him; and that now, though there are different ways of thinking amongſt us in ſome particulars, yet, if we mutually kept to that ſpirit and power which crucifies to the world, which teaches us to be content with things really needful, and to avoid all ſuperfluities, giving up our hearts to fear and ſerve the Lord, true unity may ſtill be preſerved amongſt us: and that if ſuch, as were, at times, under ſufferings on account of ſome ſcruples of conſcience, kept low and humble, and in their conduct in life manifeſted a ſpirit of true charity, it would be more likely to reach the witneſs in others, and be of more ſervice in the church, than if their ſufferings were attended with a contrary ſpirit and conduct." In which exerciſe

ciſe I was drawn into a ſympathizing tenderneſs with the ſheep of Chriſt, however diſtinguiſhed one from another in this world; and the like diſpoſition appeared to ſpread over others in the meeting. Great is the goodneſs of the Lord toward his poor creatures!

An epiſtle went forth from this yearly-meeting, which I think good to give a place in this journal; being as follows:

From the yearly-meeting held at Philadelphia, for Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey, from the twenty-ſecond day of the ninth month, to the twenty-eighth day of the ſame, incluſive, 1759.

To the quarterly and monthly meetings of friends belonging to the ſaid yearly-meeting.

Dearly beloved friends and brethren,

"IN an awful ſenſe of the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Lord our God, whoſe tender mercies have long been continued to us in this land, we affectionately ſalute you, with ſincere and fervent deſires, that we may reverently regard the diſpenſations of his providence, and improve under them.

The empires and kingdoms of the earth are ſubject to his Almighty power: he is the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, and deals with his people agreeable to that wiſdom, the depth

whereof

whereof is to us unſearchable: we, in theſe provinces, may ſay, he hath, as a gracious and tender parent, dealt bountifully with us, even from the days of our fathers: it was he who ſtrengthened them to labour through the difficulties attending the improvement of a wilderneſs, and made way for them in the hearts of the natives; ſo that by them they were comforted in times of want and diſtreſs: it was by the gracious influences of his holy ſpirit, that they were diſpoſed to work righteouſneſs, and walk uprightly one towards another, and towards the natives, and in life and converſation to manifeſt the excellency of the principles and doctrines of the Chriſtian religion; and thereby they retain their eſteem and friendſhip: whilſt they were labouring for the neceſſaries of life, many of them were fervently engaged to promote piety and virtue in the earth, and educate their children in the fear of the Lord.

If we carefully conſider the peaceable meaſures purſued in the firſt ſettlement of the land, and that freedom from the deſolations of wars which for a long time we enjoyed, we ſhall find ourſelves under ſtrong obligations to the Almighty, who, when the earth is ſo generally polluted with wickedneſs, gave us a being in a part ſo ſignally favoured with tranquillity and plenty, and in which the glad tidings of the goſpel of Chriſt are ſo freely publiſhed, that we may juſtly ſay with the pſalmiſt, "What ſhall

"we

" we render unto the Lord for all his bene-
" fits?"

Our own real good, and the good of our poſterity, in ſome meaſure, depend on the part we act; and it nearly concerns us to try our foundations impartially. Such are the different rewards of the juſt and unjuſt in a future ſtate, that, to attend diligently to the dictates of the Spirit of Chriſt, to devote ourſelves to his ſervice, and engage fervently in his cauſe, during our ſhort ſtay in this world, is a choice well becoming a free intelligent creature; we ſhall thus clearly ſee and conſider that the dealings of God with mankind in a national capacity, as recorded in holy writ, do ſufficiently evidence the truth of that ſaying, " it is righteouſneſs which ex-
" alteth a nation;" and though he doth not at all times ſuddenly execute his judgements on a ſinful people in this life, yet we ſee, by many inſtances, that where " men follow
" lying vanities, they forſake their own mer-
" cies;" and as a proud ſelfiſh ſpirit prevails and ſpreads among a people, ſo partial judgement, oppreſſion, diſcord, envy, and confuſions, increaſe, and provinces and kingdoms are made to drink the cup of adverſity as a reward of their own doings. Thus the inſpired prophet, reaſoning with the degenerated Jews, ſaith, " Thine own wickedneſs
" ſhall correct thee, and thy backſlidings
" ſhall reprove thee: know, therefore, that
" it is an evil thing and bitter, that thou
" haſt

" haſt forſaken the Lord thy God, and " that my fear is not in thee, ſaith the Lord " God of hoſts." Jer. ii. 19.

The God of our fathers, who hath beſtowed on us many benefits, furniſhed a table for us in the wilderneſs, and made the deſarts and ſolitary places to rejoice; he doth now mercifully call upon us to ſerve him more faithfully—We may truly ſay, with the prophet, " It is his voice which crieth to the " city, and men of wiſdom ſee his name: " They regard the rod, and him who hath " appointed it."—People, who look chiefly at things outward, too little conſider the original cauſe of the preſent troubles; but ſuch as fear the Lord, and think often upon his name, ſee and feel that a wrong ſpirit is ſpreading among the inhabitants of our country; that the hearts of many are waxed fat, and their ears dull of hearing; that the Moſt High, in his viſitations to us, inſtead of calling, lifteth up his voice and crieth; he crieth to our country, and his voice waxeth louder and louder. In former wars between the Engliſh and other nations, ſince the ſettlement of our provinces, the calamities attending them have fallen chiefly on other places, but now of late they have reached to our borders; many of our fellow ſubjects have ſuffered on and near our frontiers, ſome have been ſlain in battle, ſome killed in their houſes, and ſome in their fields, ſome wounded and left in great miſery, and others ſeparated from their wives and little

children, who have been carried captives among the Indians: we have ſeen men and women, who have been witneſſes of theſe ſcenes of ſorrow, and being reduced to want, have come to our houſes aſking relief.——It is not long ſince it was the caſe of many young men, in one of theſe provinces, to be draughted, in order to be taken as ſoldiers; ſome were at that time in great diſtreſs, and had occaſion to conſider that their lives had been too little conformable to the purity and ſpirituality of that religion which we profeſs, and found themſelves too little acquainted with that inward humility, in which true fortitude to endure hardneſs for the truth's ſake is experienced. — Many parents were concerned for their children, and in that time of trial were led to conſider, that their care, to get outward treaſure for them, had been greater than their care for their ſettlement in that religion which crucifieth to the world, and enableth to bear a clear teſtimony to the peaceable government of the Meſſiah. Theſe troubles are removed, and for a time we are releaſed from them.

Let us not forget that " The Moſt High " hath his way in the deep, in clouds and in " thick darkneſs"—that it is his voice which crieth to the city and to the country; and oh! that theſe loud and awakening cries may have a proper effect upon us, that heavier chaſtiſement may not become neceſſary! For though things, as to the outward, may, for a ſhort time, afford a pleaſing proſpect; yet, while

a ſelfiſh

a ſelfiſh ſpirit, that is not ſubject to the croſs of Chriſt, continueth to ſpread and prevail, there can be no long continuance in outward peace and tranquillity. If we deſire an inheritance incorruptible, and to be at reſt in that ſtate of peace and happineſs, which ever continues; if we deſire, in this life, to dwell under the favour and protection of that almighty Being, whoſe habitation is in holineſs, whoſe ways are all equal, and whoſe anger is now kindled becauſe of our backſlidings; let us then awfully regard theſe beginnings of his ſore judgements, and, with abaſement and humiliation turn to him, whom we have offended.

Contending with one equal in ſtrength is an uneaſy exerciſe; but if the Lord is become our enemy, if we perſiſt to contend with him who is omnipotent, our overthrow will be unavoidable.

Do we feel an affectionate regard to poſterity; and are we employed to promote their happineſs? Do our minds, in things outward, look beyond our own diſſolution; and are we contriving for the proſperity of our children after us? Let us then, like wiſe builders, lay the foundation deep; and, by our conſtant uniform regard to an inward piety and virtue, let them ſee that we really value it: let us labour, in the fear of the Lord, that their innocent minds, while young and tender, may be preſerved from corruptions; that, as they advance in age, they may rightly underſtand their true intereſt,

may conſider the uncertainty of temporal things, and, above all, have their hope and confidence firmly ſettled in the bleſſing of that Almighty Being, who inhabits eternity, and preſerves and ſupports the world.

In all our cares, about worldly treaſures, let us ſteadily bear in mind, that riches, poſſeſſed by children who do not truly ſerve God, are likely to prove ſnares that may more grievouſly entangle them in that ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs and exaltation, which ſtands in oppoſition to real peace and happineſs; and renders them enemies to the croſs of Chriſt, who ſubmit to the influence of it.

To keep a watchful eye towards real objects of charity, to viſit the poor in their loneſome dwelling-places, to comfort them who, through the diſpenſations of divine Providence, are in ſtrait and painful circumſtances in this life, and ſteadily to endeavour to honour God with our ſubſtance, from a real ſenſe of the love of Chriſt influencing our minds thereto, is more likely to bring a bleſſing to our children, and will afford more ſatisfaction to a Chriſtian favoured with plenty, than an earneſt deſire to collect much wealth to leave behind us; for "here we have "no continuing city;" may we therefore diligently "ſeek one that is to come, whoſe "builder and maker is God."

"Finally, brethren, whatſoever things are "true, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſo-"ever things are pure, whatſoever things "are lovely, whatſoever things are of good

"report;

" report; if there be any virtue, if there " be any praiſe, think on theſe things and " do them, and the God of peace ſhall be " with you."

Signed, by appointment, and on behalf of our ſaid meeting, by ſeven friends.

On the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month, in the year 1759, I was at the quarterly-meeting in Bucks county: this day being the meeting of miniſters and elders, my heart was enlarged in the love of Jeſus Chriſt; and the favour of the Moſt High was extended to us in that and the enſuing meeting.

I had converſation, at my lodging, with my beloved friend, Samuel Eaſtburn; who expreſſed a concern to join in a viſit to ſome friends, in that county, who had negroes; and, as I had felt a draught in my mind to that work in the ſaid county, I came home and put things in order: on the eleventh day of the twelfth month following, I went over the river; and on the next day was at Buckingham meeting; where, through the deſcendings of heavenly dew, my mind was comforted, and drawn into a near unity with the flock of Jeſus Chriſt.

Entering upon this viſit appeared weighty: and before I left home my mind was often ſad; under which exerciſe I felt, at times, the Holy Spirit, which helps our infirmities;

through which, in private, my prayers were, at times, put up to God, that he would be pleaſed to purge me from all ſelfiſhneſs, that I might be ſtrengthened to diſcharge my duty faithfully, how hard ſoever to the natural part. We proceeded on the viſit in a weighty frame of ſpirit, and went to the houſes of the moſt active members, throughout the country, who had negroes; and, through the goodneſs of the Lorrd, my mind was preſerved in reſignation in times of trial, and, though the work was hard to nature, yet through the ſtrength of that love which is ſtronger than death, tenderneſs of heart was often felt amongſt us in our viſits, and we parted from ſeveral families with greater ſatisfaction than we expected.

We viſited Joſeph White's family, he being in England; had alſo a family-ſitting at the houſe of an elder who bore us company, and was at Makefield on a firſt day: at all which times my heart was truly thankful to the Lord, who was graciouſly pleaſed to renew his loving-kindneſs to us, his poor ſervants, uniting us together in his work.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

His viſit, in company with Samuel Eaſtburn, to Long-Iſland, Rhode-Iſland, Boſton, &c. in New-England—Remarks on the ſlave-trade at Newport, and his exerciſe on that account; alſo on lotteries—Some obſervations on the iſland of Nantucket.

HAVING, for ſome time paſt, felt a ſympathy in my mind with friends Eaſtward, I opened my concern in our monthly-meeting; and, obtaining a certificate, ſet forward on the ſeventeenth day of the fourth month, in the year 1760, joining in company, by a previous agreement, with my beloved friend, Samuel Eaſtburn. We had meetings at Woodbridge, Rahaway, and Plainfield; and were at their monthly-meeting of miniſters and elders in Rahaway. We laboured under ſome diſcouragement; but, through the inviſible power of truth, our viſit was made reviving to the lowly-minded, with whom I felt a near unity of ſpirit, being much reduced in my mind. We paſſed on and viſited chief of the meetings on Long-Iſland. It was my concern, from day to day, to ſay no more nor leſs than what the ſpirit of truth opened in me, being jealous over myſelf, leſt I ſhould ſpeak any thing to make my teſtimony look agreeable

to that mind in people, which is not in pure obedience to the croſs of Chriſt.

The ſpring of the miniſtry was often low; and, through the ſubjecting power of truth, we were kept low with it; and from place to place, ſuch, whoſe hearts were truly concerned for the cauſe of Chriſt, appeared to be comforted in our labours; and though it was in general a time of abaſement of the creature, yet, through his goodneſs, who is a helper of the poor, we had ſome truly edifying ſeaſons both in meetings, and in families where we tarried; and ſometimes found ſtrength to labour earneſtly with the unfaithful, eſpecially with thoſe, whoſe ſtation in families, or in the ſociety was ſuch, that their example had a powerful tendency to open the way for others to go aſide from the purity and ſoundneſs of the bleſſed truth. At Jericho, on Long-Iſland, I wrote home as follows:

24th

24th of the 4th month, 1760.

Dearly beloved wife,

"WE are favoured with health; have been at ſundry meetings in Eaſt-Jerſey, and on this iſland: my mind hath been much in an inward watchful frame ſince I left thee, greatly deſiring that our proceedings may be ſingly in the will of our heavenly Father.

As the preſent appearance of things is not joyous, I have been much ſhut up from outward chearfulneſs, remembering that promiſe, "Then ſhalt thou delight thyſelf in "the Lord:"—As this, from day to day, has been revived in my memory, I have conſidered that his internal preſence on our minds is a delight, of all others, the moſt pure; and that the honeſt-hearted not only delight in this, but in the effect of it upon them. He regards the helpleſs and diſtreſſed, and reveals his love to his children under affliction; they delight in beholding his benevolence and feeling divine charity moving upon them: of this I may ſpeak a little; for though, ſince I left you, I have often found an engaging love and affection toward thee and my daughter, and friends about home, that going out at this time, when ſickneſs is ſo great amongſt you, is a trial upon me; yet

yet I often remember there are many widows and fatherleſs, many who have poor tutors, many who have evil examples before them, and many whoſe minds are in captivity, for whoſe ſake my heart is, at times, moved with compaſſion, that I feel my mind reſigned to leave you for a ſeaſon, to exerciſe that gift which the Lord hath beſtowed on me; which though ſmall, compared with ſome, yet in this I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned toward my fellow-creatures. I recommend you to the Almighty, who, I truſt, cares for you; and, under a ſenſe of his heavenly love, remain

"Thy loving huſband,

J. W."

We croſſed from the eaſt end of Long-Iſland to New-London, about thirty miles, in a large open boat; while we were out, the wind riſing high, the waves ſeveral times beat over us, that to me it appeared dangerous; but my mind was, at that time, turned to him, who made and governs the deep, and my life was reſigned to him: and, as he was mercifully pleaſed to preſerve us, I had freſh occaſion to conſider every day as a day lent to me; and felt a renewed engagement to devote my time, and all I had, to him who gave them.

We had five meetings in Narraganſet; and went thence to Newport on Rhode-Iſland.

Our

Our gracious Father preſerved us in an humble dependence on him through deep exerciſes, that were mortifying to the creaturely will. In ſeveral families in the country, where we lodged, I felt an engagement on my mind to have a conference with them in private concerning their ſlaves; and, through divine aid, I was favoured to give up thereto: though, in this concern, I appeared ſingular from many, whoſe ſervice in travelling, I believe, is greater than mine; I do not think hard of them for omitting it; I do not repine at having ſo unpleaſant a taſk aſſigned me, but look with awfulneſs to him, who appoints to his ſervants their reſpective employments, and is good to all who ſerve him ſincerely.

We got to Newport in the evening, and on the next day viſited two ſick perſons, and had comfortable ſittings with them; and in the afternoon attended the burial of a friend.

The next day we were at meetings at Newport, in the forenoon and afternoon; where the ſpring of the miniſtry was opened, and ſtrength given to declare the word of life to the people.

The next day we went on our journey; but the great number of ſlaves in theſe parts, and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made deep impreſſion on me; and my cries were often put up to my heavenly Father in ſecret, that he would enable me to diſcharge my duty faithfully, in ſuch way as he might be pleaſed to point out to me.

We

We took Swanſea, Freetown, and Tanton, in our way to Boſton; where alſo we had a meeting; our exerciſe was deep, and the love of truth prevailed, for which I bleſs the Lord. We went eaſtward about eighty miles beyond Boſton, taking meetings, and were in a good degree preſerved in an humble dependence on that arm which drew us out; and, though we had ſome hard labour with the diſobedient, laying things home and cloſe to ſuch as were ſtout againſt the truth; yet, through the goodneſs of God, we had, at times, to partake of heavenly comfort with them who were meek, and were often favoured to part with friends in the nearneſs of true goſpel-fellowſhip. We returned to Boſton, and had another comfortable opportunity with friends there; and thence rode back a day's journey eaſtward of Boſton: our guide being a heavy man, and the weather hot, and my companion and I conſidering it, expreſſed our freedom to go on without him, to which he conſented, and we reſpectfully took our leave of him; this we did, as believing the journey would have been hard to him and his horſe.

We viſited the meetings in thoſe parts, and were meaſurably baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of the ſociety: and in bowedneſs of ſpirit went to the yearly-meeting at Newport; where I underſtood that a large number of ſlaves were imported from Africa into that town, and then on ſale by a member of our ſociety. At this meeting we met with John Storer from England, Elizabeth Shipley,

ley, Ann Gaunt, Hannah Foſter, and Mercy Redman from our parts, all miniſters of the goſpel, of whoſe company I was glad.

At this time my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak, and had a feeling of the condition of Habbakuk, as there expreſſed. "When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myſelf that I might reſt in the day of trouble;" I had many cogitations, and was ſorely diſtreſſed: and was deſirous that friends might petition the legiſlature, to uſe their endeavours to diſcourage the future importation of ſlaves; for I ſaw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and bring diſtreſſes on the people in thoſe parts, for whoſe welfare my heart was deeply concerned.

But I perceived ſeveral difficulties in regard to petitioning; and ſuch was the exerciſe of my mind, that I had thought of endeavouring to get an opportunity to ſpeak a few words in the houſe of aſſembly, then ſitting in town. This exerciſe came upon me in the afternoon, on the ſecond day of the yearly-meeting, and, going to bed, I got no ſleep till my mind was wholly reſigned therein; and in the morning I enquired of a friend how long the aſſembly were likely to continue ſitting; who told me, they were expected to be prorogued that day or the next.

As I was deſirous to attend the buſineſs of the meeting, and perceived the aſſembly were likely to depart before the buſineſs was over; after conſiderable exerciſe, humbly

ſeeking

ſeeking to the Lord for inſtruction, my mind ſettled to attend on the buſineſs of the meeting; on the laſt day of which, I had prepared a ſhort eſſay of a petition to be preſented to the legiſlature, if way opened: and being informed that there were ſome appointed, by that yearly-meeting, to ſpeak with thoſe in authority, in caſes relating to the ſociety, I opened my mind to ſeveral of them, and ſhewed them the eſſay I had made; and afterward opened the caſe in the meeting for buſineſs, in ſubſtance as follows:

"I have been under a concern for ſome time, on account of the great number of ſlaves which are imported into this colony; I am aware that it is a tender point to ſpeak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the ſight of heaven without ſpeaking to it. I have prepared an eſſay of a petition, if way open, to be preſented to the legiſlature; and what I have to propoſe to this meeting is, that ſome friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it ſuitable to be read in the meeting; if they ſhould think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting, after hearing it, to conſider, whether to take any farther notice of it at a meeting or not." After a ſhort conference ſome friends went out, and, looking over it, expreſſed their willingneſs to have it read; which being done, many expreſſed their unity with the propoſal; and ſome ſignified, that to have the ſubjects of the petition enlarged upon, and to be ſigned out of

meeting

meeting by ſuch as were free, would be more ſuitable than to do it there: though I expected, at firſt, that if it was done it would be in that way; yet, ſuch was the exerciſe of my mind, that to move it in the hearing of friends, when aſſembled, appeared to me as a duty; for my heart yearned toward the inhabitants of theſe parts; believing that by this trade there had been an increaſe of inquietude amongſt them, and a way made eaſy for the ſpreading of a ſpirit oppoſite to that meekneſs and humility, which is a ſure reſting-place for the ſoul: and that the continuance of this trade would not only render their healing more difficult, but increaſe their malady.

Having thus far proceeded, I felt eaſy to leave the eſſay amongſt friends, for them to proceed in it as they believed beſt. And now an exerciſe revived on my mind in relation to lotteries, which were common in thoſe parts: I had once moved it in a former ſitting of this meeting, when arguments were uſed in favour of friends being held excuſed who were only concerned in ſuch lotteries as were agreeable to law: and now, on moving it again, it was oppoſed as before; but the hearts of ſome ſolid friends appeared to be united to diſcourage the practice amongſt their members; and the matter was zealouſly handled by ſome on both ſides. In this debate it appeared very clear to me, that the ſpirit of lotteries was a ſpirit of ſelfiſhneſs, which tended to confuſion and darkneſs

of

of underſtanding; and that pleading for it in our meetings, ſet apart for the Lord's work, was not right: and, in the heat of zeal, I once made reply to what an ancient friend ſaid, though when I ſat down, I ſaw that my words were not enough ſeaſoned with charity; and, after this, I ſpake no more on the ſubject. At length a minute was made; a copy of which was agreed to be ſent to their ſeveral quarterly-meetings, inciting friends to labour to diſcourage the practice amongſt all profeſſing with us.

Some time after this minute was made, I, remaining uneaſy with the manner of my ſpeaking to the ancient friend, could not ſee my way clear to conceal my uneaſineſs, but was concerned that I might ſay nothing to weaken the cauſe in which I had laboured; and then, after ſome cloſe exerciſe and hearty repentance, for that I had not attended cloſely to the ſafe guide, I ſtood up, and, reciting the paſſage, acquainted friends, that, though I durſt not go from what I had ſaid as to the matter, yet I was uneaſy with the manner of my ſpeaking, as believing milder language would have been better. As this was uttered in ſome degree of creaturely abaſement, it appeared to have a good ſavour amongſt us, after a warm debate.

The yearly-meeting being now over, there yet remained on my mind a ſecret, though heavy, exerciſe in regard to ſome leading active members about Newport, being in the practice of ſlave-keeping. This I mentioned

to

to two ancient friends, who came out of the country, and propoſed to them, if way opened, to have ſome converſation with thoſe friends: and, thereupon, one of thoſe country friends and I conſulted one of the moſt noted elders who had ſlaves; and he, in a reſpectful manner, encouraged me to proceed to clear myſelf of what lay upon me. Now I had, near the beginning of the yearly-meeting, a private conference with this ſaid elder and his wife concerning theirs; ſo that the way ſeemed clear to me to adviſe with him about the manner of proceeding: I told him, I was free to have a conference with them all together in a private houſe; or, if he thought they would take it unkind to be aſked to come together, and to be ſpoke with one in the hearing of another, I was free to ſpend ſome time among them, and viſit them all in their own houſes: he expreſſed his liking to the firſt propoſal, not doubting their willingneſs to come together: and, as I propoſed a viſit to only miniſters, elders, and overſeers, he named ſome others, who he deſired might be preſent alſo: and, as a careful meſſenger was wanted to acquaint them in a proper manner, he offered to go to all their houſes to open the matter to them; and did ſo. About the eighth hour, the next morning, we met in the meeting-houſe chamber, and the laſt-mentioned country friend, alſo my companion, and John Storer, with us; when, after a ſhort time of retirement, I acquainted them with the ſteps I had taken

in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under; and so we proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favour us with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit: and, at length, feeling my mind released from that burthen which I had been under, I took my leave of them, in a good degree of satisfaction; and, by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them; and I am humbly thankful to God, who supported my mind, and preserved me in a good degree of resignation through these trials.

Thou, who sometimes travellest in the work of the ministry, art made very welcome by thy friends, and seest many tokens of their satisfaction, in having thee for their guest, it is good for thee to dwell deep, that thou mayest feel and understand the spirits of people: if we believe truth points towards a conference on some subjects, in a private way, it is needful for us to take heed that their kindness, their freedom, and affability, do not hinder us from the Lord's work. I have seen that, in the midst of kindness and smooth conduct, to speak close and home to them

who

who entertain us, on points that relate to their outward intereſt, is hard labour; and ſometimes, when I have felt truth lead toward it, I have found myſelf diſqualified by a ſuperficial friendſhip; and as the ſenſe thereof hath abaſed me, and my cries have been to the Lord, ſo I have been humbled and made content to appear weak, or as a fool for his ſake; and thus a door hath opened to enter upon it. To attempt to do the Lord's work in our own way, and to ſpeak of that which is the burthen of the word in a way eaſy to the natural part, doth not reach the bottom of the diſorder. To ſee the failings of our friends, and think hard of them, without opening that which we ought to open, and ſtill carry a face of friendſhip; this tends to undermine the foundation of true unity.

The office of a miniſter of Chriſt is weighty; and they, who go forth as watchmen, had need to be ſteadily on their guard againſt the ſnares of proſperity and an outſide friendſhip.

After the yearly-meeting, we were at meetings at Newtown, Cuſhnet, Long-Plain, Rocheſter, and Dartmouth: from thence we ſailed for Nantucket, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, and ſeveral other friends: the wind being ſlack, we only reached Tarpawling-Cove the firſt day; where, going on ſhore, we found room in a public-houſe, and beds for a few of us, the reſt ſleeping on the floor: we went on-board again about

break of day; and, though the wind was ſmall, we were favoured to come within about four miles of Nantucket; and then, about ten of us getting into our boat, we rowed to the harbour before dark; whereupon a large boat, going off, brought in the reſt of the paſſengers about midnight: the next day but one was their yearly-meeting, which held four days; the laſt of which was their monthly-meeting for buſineſs. We had a laborious time amongſt them: our minds were cloſely exerciſed, and I believe it was a time of great ſearching of heart: the longer I was on the iſland, the more I became ſenſible that there was a conſiderable number of valuable friends there, though an evil ſpirit, tending to ſtrife, had been at work amongſt them: I was cautious of making any viſits, but as my mind was particularly drawn to them; and in that way we had ſome ſittings in friends houſes, where the heavenly wing was, at times, ſpread over us, to our mutual comfort.

My beloved companion had very acceptable ſervice on this iſland.

When meeting was over, we all agreed to ſail the next day, if the weather was ſuitable and we well; and, being called up the latter part of the night, we went on-board a veſſel, being in all about fifty; but, the wind changing, the ſeamen thought beſt to ſtay in the harbour till it altered; ſo we returned on-ſhore; and, feeling clear as to any farther viſits, I ſpent my time in our chamber chiefly alone;

alone; and, after ſome hours, my heart being filled with the ſpirit of ſupplication, my prayers and tears were poured out, before my heavenly Father, for his help and inſtruction in the manifold difficulties which attended me in life: and, while I was waiting upon the Lord, there came a meſſenger from the women friends, who lodged at another houſe, deſiring to confer with us about appointing a meeting, which to me appeared weighty, as we had been at ſo many before; but, after a ſhort conference, and adviſing with ſome elderly friends, a meeting was appointed, in which the friend, who firſt moved it, and who had been much ſhut up before, was largely opened in the love of the goſpel: and the next morning, about break of day, going again on-board the veſſel, we reached Falmouth on the Main before night; where our horſes being brought, we proceeded toward Sandwich quarterly-meeting.

Being two days in going to Nantucket, and having been there once before, I obſerved many ſhoals in their bay, which make ſailing more dangerous, eſpecially in ſtormy nights; alſo, that a great ſhoal, which encloſes their harbour, prevents their going in with ſloops, except when the tide is up; waiting without which, for the riſing of the tide, is ſometimes hazardous in ſtorms: waiting within, they ſometimes miſs a fair wind. I took notice, that on that ſmall iſland was a great number of inhabitants, and the ſoil not very fertile; the timber ſo

gone, that for veſſels, fences, and firewood, they depend chiefly on the buying from the Main; the coſt whereof, with moſt of their other expences, they depend principally upon the whale-fiſhery to anſwer. I conſidered, that as towns grew larger, and lands near navigable waters more cleared, timber and wood would require more labour to get it: I underſtood that the whales being much hunted, and ſometimes wounded and not killed, grew more ſhy and difficult to come at: I conſidered that the formation of the earth, the ſeas, the iſlands, bays, and rivers, the motions of the winds and great waters, which cauſe bars and ſhoals in particular places, were all the works of him who is perfect wiſdom and goodneſs; and, as people attend to his heavenly inſtruction, and put their truſt in him, he provides for them in all parts, where he gives them a being. And as, in this viſit to theſe people, I felt a ſtrong deſire for their firm eſtabliſhment on the ſure foundation, beſides what was ſaid more publicly, I was concerned to ſpeak with the women friends, in their monthly-meeting of buſineſs, many being preſent; and, in the freſh ſpring of pure love, to open before them the advantage, both inward and outward, of attending ſingly to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therein to educate their children in true humility, and the diſuſe of all ſuperfluities, reminding them of the difficulties their huſbands and ſons were frequently expoſed to at ſea; and that, the more

plain

plain and ſimple their way of living was, the leſs need of running great hazards to ſupport them in it; encouraging the young women in their neat decent way of attending themſelves on the affairs of the houſe; ſhewing, as the way opened, that, where people were truly humble, uſed themſelves to buſineſs, and were content with a plain way of life, it had ever been attended with more true peace and calmneſs of mind, than they have had who, aſpiring to greatneſs and outward ſhew, have graſped hard for an income to ſupport themſelves in it: and, as I obſerved they had few or no ſlaves amongſt them, I had to encourage them to be content without them; making mention of the numerous troubles and vexations which frequently attend the minds of people who depend on ſlaves to do their labour.

We attended the quarterly-meeting at Sandwich, in company with Ann Gaunt and Mercy Redman, which was preceded by a monthly-meeting; and in the whole held three days: we were various ways exerciſed amongſt them, in goſpel love, according to the ſeveral gifts beſtowed on us; and were, at times, overſhadowed with the virtue of truth, to the comfort of the ſincere, and ſtirring up of the negligent. Here we parted with Ann and Mercy, and went to Rhode-Iſland, taking one meeting in our way, which was a ſatisfactory time; and, reaching Newport the evening before their quarterly-meeting, we attended it; and, after

that, had a meeting with our young people, ſeparated from thoſe of other ſocieties. We went through much labour in this town; and now, in taking leave of it, though I felt cloſe inward exerciſe to the laſt, I found inward peace; and was, in ſome degree, comforted, in a belief, that a good number remain in that place, who retain a ſenſe of truth; and that there are ſome young people attentive to the voice of the heavenly Shepherd. The laſt meeting, in which friends from the ſeveral parts of the quarter came together, was a ſelect meeting; and, through the renewed manifeſtation of the Father's love, the hearts of the ſincere were united together.

That poverty of ſpirit, and inward weakneſs, with which I was much tried the fore part of this journey, have of late appeared to me as a diſpenſation of kindneſs. Appointing meetings never appeared more weighty to me; and I was led into a deep ſearch, whether in all things my mind was reſigned to the will of God; often querying with myſelf, what ſhould be the cauſe of ſuch inward poverty; and greatly deſired, that no ſecret reſerve in my heart might hinder my acceſs to the divine fountain. In theſe humbling times I was made watchful, and excited to attend the ſecret movings of the heavenly principle in my mind, which prepared the way to ſome duties, that in more eaſy and proſperous times, as to the outward, I believe I ſhould have been in danger of omitting.

From

From Newport we went to Greenwich, Shanticut, and Warwick; and were helped to labour amongſt friends in the love of our gracious Redeemer: and then, accompanied by our friend, John Caſey, from Newport, we rode through Connecticut to Oblong, viſited the meetings of friends in thoſe parts, and thence proceeded to the quarterly-meeting at Ryewoods; and, through the gracious extendings of divine help, had ſome ſeaſoning opportunities in thoſe places: ſo we viſited friends at New-York and Fluſhing; and thence to Rahaway: and here, our roads parting, I took leave of my beloved companion, and true yoke-mate, Samuel Eaſtburn; and reached home on the tenth day of the eighth month, 1760, where I found my family well: and, for the favours and protection of the Lord, both inward and outward, extended to me in this journey, my heart is humbled in grateful acknowledgements; and I find renewed deſires to dwell and walk in reſignedneſs before him.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

His visits to Pennsylvania, Shrewsbury, and Squan.—His publishing the second part of considerations on keeping negroes.—His visiting the families of friends of Ancocas and Mount-Holly meetings.—His visits to the Indians at Wehaloosing on the river Susquehannah.

HAVING felt my mind drawn toward a visit to a few meetings in Pennsylvania, I was very desirous to be rightly instructed as to the time of setting off: and, on the tenth day of the fifth month, 1761, being the first day of the week, I went to Haddonfield meeting, concluding to seek for heavenly instruction, and come home, or go on, as I might then believe best for me; and there, through the springing up of pure love, I felt encouragement, and so crossed the river. In this visit I was at two quarterly and three monthly-meetings; and, in the love of truth, felt my way open to labour with some noted friends, who kept negroes: and, as I was favoured to keep to the root, and endeavoured to discharge what I believed was required of me, I found inward peace therein, from time to time, and thankfulness of heart to the Lord, who was graciously pleased to be a guide to me.

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In the eighth month, 1761, having felt drawings in my mind to viſit friends in and about Shrewſbury, I went there, and was at their monthly-meeting, and their firſt-day meeting; and had a meeting at Squan, and another at Squankum; and, as way opened, had converſation with ſome noted friends concerning their ſlaves: and I returned home in a thankful ſenſe of the goodneſs of the Lord.

From the care I felt growing in me ſome years, I wrote Conſiderations on keeping Negroes, part the ſecond; which was printed this year, 1762. When the overſeers of the preſs had done with it, they offered to get a number printed, to be paid for out of the yearly-meeting ſtock, and to be given away; but I being moſt eaſy to publiſh them at my own expence, and, offering my reaſons, they appeared ſatisfied.

This ſtock is the contribution of the members of our religious ſociety in general; amongſt whom are ſome who keep negroes; and, being inclined to continue them in ſlavery, are not likely to be ſatisfied with thoſe books being ſpread amongſt a people where many of the ſlaves are taught to read, and eſpecially not at their expence; and ſuch often, receiving them as a gift, conceal them: But as they, who make a purchaſe, generally buy that which they have a mind for, I believed it beſt to ſell them; expecting, by that means, they would more generally be read with attention. Advertiſements being ſigned

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by order of the overſeers of the preſs, directed to be read in monthly-meetings of buſineſs within our own yearly-meeting, informing where the books were, and that the price was no more than the coſt of printing and binding them, many were taken off in our parts; ſome I ſent to Virginia, ſome to New-York, and ſome to Newport, to my acquaintance there; and ſome I kept, expecting to give part of them away, where there appeared a proſpect of ſervice.

In my youth I was uſed to hard labour; and, though I was middling healthy, yet my nature was not fitted to endure ſo much as many others: that, being often weary, I was prepared to ſympathize with thoſe whoſe circumſtances in life, as free men, required conſtant labour to anſwer the demands of their creditors, and with others under oppreſſion. In the uneaſineſs of body, which I have many times felt by too much labour, not as a forced but a voluntary oppreſſion, I have often been excited to think on the original cauſe of that oppreſſion, which is impoſed on many in the world: and, the latter part of the time wherein I laboured on our plantation, my heart, through the freſh viſitations of heavenly love, being often tender, and my leiſure-time frequently ſpent in reading the life and doctrines of our bleſſed Redeemer, the account of the ſufferings of martyrs, and the hiſtory of the firſt riſe of our ſociety, a belief was gradually ſettled in my mind, that if ſuch, as had great eſtates, generally

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lived in that humility and plainneſs which belongs to a Chriſtian life, and laid much eaſier rents and intereſts on their lands and monies, and thus led the way to a right uſe of things, ſo great a number of people might be employed in things uſeful, that labour, both for men and other creatures, would need to be no more than an agreeable employ; and divers branches of buſineſs, which ſerve chiefly to pleaſe the natural inclinations of our minds, and which, at preſent, ſeem neceſſary to circulate that wealth which ſome gather, might, in this way of pure wiſdom, be diſcontinued. And, as I have thus conſidered theſe things, a query, at times, hath ariſen: Do I, in all my proceedings, keep to that uſe of things which is agreeable to univerſal righteouſneſs? And then there hath ſome degree of ſadneſs, at times, come over me, for that I accuſtomed myſelf to ſome things, which occaſioned more labour than I believe divine wiſdom intends for us.

From my early acquaintance with truth I have often felt an inward diſtreſs, occaſioned by the ſtriving of a ſpirit in me againſt the operation of the heavenly principle; and in this circumſtance have been affected with a ſenſe of my own wretchedneſs, and in a mourning condition felt earneſt longing for that divine help, which brings the ſoul into true liberty; and ſometimes, in this ſtate, retiring into private places, the ſpirit of ſupplication hath been given me; and, under a heavenly covering, I have aſked my gracious

Father

Father to give me a heart in all things reſigned to the direction of his wiſdom.

In viſiting people of note in the ſociety who had ſlaves, and labouring with them in brotherly love on that account, I have ſeen, and the ſight has affected me, that a conformity to ſome cuſtoms, diſtinguiſhable from pure wiſdom, has entangled many; and the deſire of gain, to ſupport theſe cuſtoms, greatly oppoſed the work of truth: and ſometimes, when the proſpect of the work before me has been ſuch, that in bowedneſs of ſpirit, I have been drawn into retired places, and beſought the Lord with tears that he would take me wholly under his direction, and ſhew me the way in which I ought to walk, it hath revived, with ſtrength of conviction, that, if I would be his faithful ſervant, I muſt, in all things, attend to his wiſdom, and be teachable; and ſo ceaſe from all cuſtoms contrary thereto, however uſed amongſt religious people.

As he is the perfection of power, of wiſdom, and of goodneſs, ſo, I believe, he hath provided, that ſo much labour ſhall be neceſſary for men's ſupport, in this world, as would, being rightly divided, be a ſuitable employment of their time; and that we cannot go into ſuperfluities, or graſp after wealth in a way contrary to his wiſdom, without having connection with ſome degree of oppreſſion, and with that ſpirit which leads to ſelf-exaltation and ſtrife, and which frequently brings calamities on countries, by parties contending about their claims.

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In the eleventh month of the year 1762, feeling an engagement of mind to viſit ſome families in Mansfield, I joined my beloved friend, Benjamin Jones, and we ſpent a few days together in that ſervice. In the ſecond month, 1763, I joined in company with Elizabeth Smith and Mary Noble on a viſit to the families of friends at Ancocas; in both which viſits, through the baptizing power of truth, the ſincere labourers were often comforted, and the hearts of friends opened to receive us. And, in the fourth month following, I accompanied ſome friends in a viſit to the families of friends in Mount-Holly, in which my mind was often drawn into an inward awfulneſs, wherein ſtrong deſires were raiſed for the everlaſting welfare of my fellow-creatures; and, through the kindneſs of our heavenly Father, our hearts were, at times, enlarged, and friends invited, in the flowings of divine love, to attend to that which would ſettle them on the ſure foundation.

Having many years felt love in my heart toward the natives of this land, who dwell far back in the wilderneſs, whoſe anceſtors were the owners and poſſeſſors of the land where we dwell; and who, for a very ſmall conſideration, aſſigned their inheritance to us; and, being at Philadelphia, in the eighth month, 1761, in a viſit to ſome friends who had ſlaves, I fell in company with ſome of thoſe natives who lived on the eaſt branch of the river Suſquehannah, at an Indian town called

called Wehalooſing, two hundred miles from Philadelphia; and, in converſation with them by an interpreter, as alſo by obſervations on their countenances and conduct, I believed ſome of them were meaſurably acquainted with that divine power which ſubjects the rough and froward will of the creature: and, at times, I felt inward drawings toward a viſit to that place of which I told none except my dear wife, until it came to ſome ripeneſs; and, then, in the winter, 1762, I laid it before friends at our monthly and quarterly, and afterwards at our general ſpring meeting; and, having the unity of friends, and being thoughtful about an Indian pilot, there came a man and three women from a little beyond that town to Philadelphia on buſineſs: and I, being informed thereof by letter, met them in town in the fifth month, 1763; and, after ſome converſation, finding they were ſober people, I, by the concurrence of friends in that place, agreed to join with them as companions in their return; and, on the ſeventh day of the ſixth month following, we appointed to meet at Samuel Foulk's, at Richland in Bucks county. Now, as this viſit felt weighty, and was performed at a time when travelling appeared perilous, ſo the diſpenſations of divine Providence, in preparing my mind for it, have been memorable; and I believe it good for me to give ſome hints thereof.

After I had given up to go, the thoughts of the journey were often attended with unuſual ſadneſs; in which times, my heart was

frequently

frequently turned to the Lord with inward breathings for his heavenly ſupport, that I might not fail to follow him whereſoever he might lead me: and, being at our youths meeting at Cheſterfield, about a week before the time I expected to ſet off, I was there led to ſpeak on that prayer of our Redeemer to his Father: "I pray not that thou ſhouldeſt "take them out of the world, but that thou "ſhouldeſt keep them from the evil." And, in attending to the pure openings of truth, I had to mention what he elſewhere ſaid to his Father; "I know that thou heareſt me at all times:" ſo that, as ſome of his followers kept their places, and as his prayer was granted, it followed neceſſarily that they were kept from evil: and, as ſome of thoſe met with great hardſhips and afflictions in this world, and at laſt ſuffered death by cruel men, it appears, that whatſoever befals men while they live in pure obedience to God, as it certainly works for their good, ſo it may not be conſidered an evil as it relates to them. As I ſpake on this ſubject, my heart was much tendered, and great awfulneſs came over me; and then, on the firſt day of the next week, being at our own afternoon-meeting, and my heart being enlarged in love, I was led to ſpeak on the care and protection of the Lord over his people, and to make mention of that paſſage, where a band of Aſſyrians endeavouring to take captive the prophet, were diſappointed; and how the pſalmiſt ſaid, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round "about them that fear him." And thus, in

true love and tenderneſs, I parted from friends, expecting, the next morning, to proceed on my journey, and, being weary, went early to bed: and, after I had been aſleep a ſhort time, I was awaked by a man calling at my door; and, ariſing, was invited to meet ſome friends at a public-houſe in our town, who came from Philadelphia ſo late, that friends were generally gone to bed: theſe friends informed me, that an expreſs arrived the laſt morning from Pittſburgh, and brought news that the Indians had taken a fort from the Engliſh weſtward, and ſlain and ſcalped Engliſh people in divers places, ſome near the ſaid Pittſburgh; and that ſome elderly friends in Philadelphia, knowing the time of my expecting to ſet off, had conferred together, and thought good to inform me of theſe things, before I left home, that I might conſider them, and proceed as I believed beſt; ſo I, going again to bed, told not my wife till morning. My heart was turned to the Lord for his heavenly inſtruction; and it was an humbling time to me. When I told my dear wife, ſhe appeared to be deeply concerned about it; but, in a few hours time, my mind became ſettled in a belief, that it was my duty to proceed on my journey; and ſhe bore it with a good degree of reſignation. In this conflict of ſpirit, there were great ſearchings of heart, and ſtrong cries to the Lord, that no motion might be, in the leaſt degree, attended to, but that of the pure ſpirit of truth.

The ſubjects before-mentioned, on which I had ſo lately ſpoken in public, were now

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very freſh before me; and I was brought inwardly to commit myſelf to the Lord, to be diſpoſed of as he ſaw beſt. So I took leave of my family and neighbours, in much bowedneſs of ſpirit, and went to our monthly-meeting at Burlington; and, after taking leave of friends there, I croſſed the river, accompanied by my friends, Iſrael and John Pemberton; and, parting the next morning with Iſrael, John bore me company to Samuel Foulk's, where I met the before-mentioned Indians, and we were glad to ſee each other: here my friend, Benjamin Parvin, met me, and propoſed joining as a companion, we having paſſed ſome letters before on the ſubject; and now, on his account, I had a ſharp trial; for, as the journey appeared perilous, I thought, if he went chiefly to bear me company, and we ſhould be taken captive, my having been the means of drawing him into theſe difficulties would add to my own afflictions: ſo I told him my mind freely, and let him know that I was reſigned to go alone; but, after all, if he really believed it to be his duty to go on, I believed his company would be very comfortable to me: it was, indeed, a time of deep exerciſe, and Benjamin appeared to be ſo faſtened to the viſit, that he could not be eaſy to leave me; ſo we went on, accompanied by our friends, John Pemberton, and William Lightfoot of Pikeland, and lodged at Bethlehem; and there, parting with John, William and we went forward on the ninth day of the ſixth month, and got lodging on the floor of a houſe, about five

miles from Fort-Allen: here we parted with William; and at this place we met with an Indian trader, lately come from Wioming; and, in converſation with him, I perceived that many white people do often ſell rum to the Indians, which, I believe, is a great evil; firſt, they being thereby deprived of the uſe of their reaſon, and their ſpirits violently agitated, quarrels often ariſe which end in miſchief; and the bitterneſs and reſentments, occaſioned hereby, are frequently of long continuance: again, their ſkins and furs, gotten through much fatigue and hard travels in hunting, with which they intended to buy clothing, when they become intoxicated, they often ſell at a low rate for more rum; and afterward, when they ſuffer for want of the neceſſaries of life, are angry with thoſe who, for the ſake of gain, took the advantage of their weakneſs: of this their chiefs have often complained, at their treaties with the Engliſh. Where cunning people paſs counterfeits, and impoſe that on others which is good for nothing, it is conſidered as a wickedneſs; but, to ſell that to people which we know does them harm, and which often works their ruin, for the ſake of gain, manifeſts a hardened and corrupt heart, and is an evil, which demands the care of all true lovers of virtue to ſuppreſs: and while my mind, this evening, was thus employed, I alſo remembered, that the people on the frontiers, among whom this evil is too common, are often poor; who venture to the outſide of a colony, that they may live more indepen-

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dent on ſuch as are wealthy, who often ſet high rents on their land: being renewedly confirmed in a belief, that, if all our inhabitants lived according to ſound wiſdom, labouring to promote univerſal love and righteouſneſs, and ceaſed from every inordinate deſire after wealth, and from all cuſtoms which are tinctured with luxury, the way would be eaſy for our inhabitants, though much more numerous than at preſent, to live comfortably on honeſt employments, without having that temptation they are often under of being drawn into ſchemes to make ſettlements on lands which have not been purchaſed of the Indians, or of applying to that wicked practice of ſelling rum to them.

On the tenth day of the month we ſet out early in the morning, and croſſed the weſtern branch of Delaware, called the Great Lehie, near Fort-Allen; the water being high, we went over in a canoe: here we met an Indian, and had ſome friendly converſation with him, and gave him ſome biſcuit; and he having killed a deer, gave the Indians with us ſome of it: then, after travelling ſome miles, we met ſeveral Indian men and women with a cow and horſe, and ſome houſehold goods, who were lately come from their dwelling at Wioming, and going to ſettle at another place; we made them ſome ſmall preſents, and, ſome of them underſtanding Engliſh, I told them my motive in coming into their country, with which they appeared ſatisfied: and, one of our guides talking a while

with an ancient woman concerning us, the poor old woman came to my companion and me, and took her leave of us with an appearance of ſincere affection. So, going on, we pitched our tent near the banks of the ſame river, having laboured hard in croſſing ſome of thoſe mountains called the Blue-Ridge; and, by the roughneſs of the ſtones, and the cavities between them, and the ſteepneſs of the hills, it appeared dangerous; but we were preſerved in ſafety, through the kindneſs of him, whoſe works in thoſe montainous deſarts appeared awful: toward whom my heart was turned during this day's travel.

Near our tent, on the ſides of large trees peeled for that purpoſe, were various repreſentations of men going to, and returning from the wars, and of ſome killed in battle; this being a path heretofore uſed by warriors: and, as I walked about viewing thoſe Indian hiſtories, which were painted moſtly in red, but ſome in black, and thinking on the innumerable afflictions which the proud, fierce, ſpirit, produceth in the world; thinking on the toils and fatigues of warriors, travelling over mountains and deſarts; thinking on their miſeries and diſtreſſes when wounded far from home by their enemies; and of their bruiſes and great wearineſs in chaſing one another over the rocks and mountains; and of their reſtleſs, unquiet, ſtate of mind, who live in this ſpirit; and of the hatred which mutually grows up in the minds of the children of thoſe nations engaged in war with each other: during theſe

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meditations, the deſire to cheriſh the ſpirit of love and peace amongſt theſe people aroſe very freſh in me. This was the firſt night that we lodged in the woods; and, being wet with travelling in the rain, the ground, our tent, and the buſhes, which we purpoſed to lay under our blankets, being alſo wet, all looked diſcouraging; but I believed, that it was the Lord who had thus far brought me forward, and that he would diſpoſe of me as he ſaw good; and therein I felt eaſy: ſo we kindled a fire, with our tent open to it; and, with ſome buſhes next the ground, and then our blankets, we made our bed, and, lying down, got ſome ſleep; and, in the morning, feeling a little unwell, I went into the river; the water was cold, but ſoon after I felt freſh and well.

The eleventh day of the ſixth month, the buſhes being wet, we tarried in our tent till about eight o'clock; when, going on, we croſſed a high mountain ſuppoſed to be upwards of four miles over; the ſteepneſs on the north-ſide exceeding all the others. We alſo croſſed two ſwamps, and, it raining near night, we pitched our tent and lodged.

About noon, on our way, we were overtaken by one of the Moravian brethren, going to Wehaloſing, and an Indian man with him, who could talk Engliſh; and we, being together while our horſes ate graſs, had ſome friendly converſation; but they, travelling faſter than we, ſoon left us. This Moravian, I underſtood, had ſpent ſome time this ſpring at Wehaloſing, and was,

by ſome of the Indians, invited to come again.

The twelfth day of the ſixth month, and firſt of the week, it being a rainy day, we continued in our tent; and here I was led to think on the nature of the exerciſe which hath attended me: love was the firſt motion, and thence a concern aroſe to ſpend ſome time with the Indians, that I might feel and underſtand their life, and the ſpirit they live in, if haply I might receive ſome inſtruction from them, or they be in any degree helped forward by my following the leadings of truth amongſt them: and, as it pleaſed the Lord to make way for my going at a time when the troubles of war were increaſing, and when, by reaſon of much wet weather, travelling was more difficult than uſual at that ſeaſon, I looked upon it as a more favourable opportunity to ſeaſon my mind, and bring me into a nearer ſympathy with them: and, as mine eye was to the great Father of mercies, humbly deſiring to learn what his will was concerning me, I was made quiet and content.

Our guide's horſe, though hoppled, went away in the night; after finding our own, and ſearching ſome time for him, his footſteps were diſcovered in the path going back again, whereupon my kind companion went off in the rain, and, about ſeven hours after, returned with him: and here we lodged again; tying up our horſes before we went to bed, and looſing them to feed about break of day.

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On the thirteenth day of the ſixth month, the ſun appearing, we ſet forward; and, as I rode over the barren hills, my meditations were on the alterations of the circumſtances of the natives of this land ſince the coming in of the Engliſh. The lands near the ſea are conveniently ſituated for fiſhing; the lands near the rivers, where the tides flow, and ſome above, are in many places fertile, and not mountainous; while the running of the tides makes paſſing up and down eaſy with any kind of traffic. Thoſe natives have, in ſome places, for trifling conſiderations, ſold their inheritance ſo favourably ſituated; and, in other places, been driven back by ſuperior force: ſo that in many places, as their way of clothing themſelves is now altered from what it was, and they, far remote from us, have to paſs over mountains, ſwamps, and barren deſarts, travelling is very troubleſome, in bringing their ſkins and furs to trade with us.

By the extending of Engliſh ſettlements, and partly by Engliſh hunters, the wild beaſts, they chiefly depend on for a ſubſiſtance, are not ſo plenty as they were; and people too often, for the ſake of gain, open a door for them to waſte their ſkins and furs, in purchaſing a liquor which tends to the ruin of them and their families.

My own will and deſires were now very much broken, and my heart, with much earneſtneſs, turned to the Lord, to whom alone I looked for help in the dangers before me.

me. I had a proſpect of the Engliſh along the coaſt, for upwards of nine hundred miles, where I had travelled; and the favourable ſituation of the Engliſh, and the difficulties attending the natives in many places, and the negroes, were open before me; and a weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart toward all mankind, in which I felt a ſtrong engagement, that we might be obedient to the Lord, while, in tender mercies, he is yet calling to us; and ſo attend to pure univerſal righteouſneſs, as to give no juſt cauſe of offence to the Gentiles, who do not profeſs Chriſtianity, whether the blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent: and here I was led into a cloſe laborious enquiry, whether I, as an individual, kept clear from all things which tended to ſtir up, or were connected with wars, either in this land or Africa; and my heart was deeply concerned, that, in future, I might in all things keep ſteadily to the pure truth, and live and walk in the plainneſs and ſimplicity of a ſincere follower of Chriſt. And, in this lonely journey, I did, this day, greatly bewail the ſpreading of a wrong ſpirit, believing, that the proſperous, convenient, ſituation of the Engliſh, requires a conſtant attention to divine love and wiſdom to guide and ſupport us in a way anſwerable to the will of that good, gracious, and almighty Being, who hath an equal regard to all mankind: and, here, luxury and covetouſneſs,

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with the numerous oppreſſions, and other evils attending them, appeared very afflicting to me; and I felt in that which is immutable, that the ſeeds of great calamity and deſolation are ſown and growing faſt on this continent: nor have I words ſufficient to ſet forth that longing I then felt, that we, who are placed along the coaſt, and have taſted the love and goodneſs of God, might ariſe in his ſtrength; and, like faithful meſſengers, labour to check the growth of theſe ſeeds, that they may not ripen to the ruin of our poſterity.

We reached the Indian ſettlement at Wioming: and here we were told, that an Indian runner had been at that place a day or two before us, and brought news of the Indians taking an Engliſh fort weſtward, and deſtroying the people, and that they were endeavouring to take another; and alſo, that another Indian runner came there about the middle of the night before we got there, who came from a town about ten miles above Wehalooſing, and brought news, that ſome Indian warriors, from diſtant parts, came to that town with two Engliſh ſcalps; and told the people, that it was war with the Engliſh.

Our guides took us to the houſe of a very ancient man; and, ſoon after we had put in our baggage, there came a man from another Indian houſe ſome diſtance off; and I, perceiving there was a man near the door, went out; and, having a tomahawk

wrapped

wrapped under his matchcoat out of ſight, as I approached him, he took it in his hand; I, however, went forward, and, ſpeaking to him in a friendly way, perceived he underſtood ſome Engliſh: my companion then coming out, we had ſome talk with him concerning the nature of our viſit in theſe parts; and then he going into the houſe with us, and talking with our guides, ſoon appeared friendly, and ſat down and ſmoked his pipe. Though his taking his hatchet in his hand, at the inſtant I drew near to him, had a diſagreeable appearance, I believe he had no other intent than to be in readineſs in caſe any violence was offered to him.

Hearing the news brought by theſe Indian runners, and being told by the Indians where we lodged, that what Indians were about Wioming expected, in a few days, to move to ſome larger towns, I thought that, to all outward appearance, it was dangerous travelling at this time; and was, after a hard day's journey, brought into a painful exerciſe at night, in which I had to trace back, and view over, the ſteps I had taken from my firſt moving in the viſit; and though I had to bewail ſome weakneſs which, at times, had attended me, yet I could not find that I had ever given way to a wilful diſobedience: and then, as I believed I had, under a ſenſe of duty, come thus far, I was now earneſt in ſpirit, beſeeching the Lord to ſhew me what I ought to do. In this great diſtreſs I grew jealous of myſelf, leſt

leſt the deſire of reputation, as a man firmly ſettled to perſevere through dangers, or the fear of diſgrace ariſing on my returning without performing the viſit, might have ſome place in me: thus I lay, full of thoughts, great part of the night, while my beloved companion lay and ſlept by me; till the Lord, my gracious Father, who ſaw the conflicts of my ſoul, was pleaſed to give quietneſs: then I was again ſtrengthened to commit my life, and all things relating thereto, into his heavenly hands; and, getting a little ſleep toward day, when morning came we aroſe.

On the fourteenth day of the ſixth month, we ſought out and viſited all the Indians hereabout that we could meet with; they being chiefly in one place, about a mile from where we lodged, in all perhaps twenty. Here I expreſſed the care I had on my mind for their good; and told them, that true love had made me willing thus to leave my family to come and ſee the Indians, and ſpeak with them in their houſes. Some of them appeared kind and friendly. So we took our leave of theſe Indians: and went up the river Suſquehannah, about three miles, to the houſe of an Indian, called Jacob January, who had killed his hog; and the women were making ſtore of bread, and preparing to move up the river. Here our pilots left their canoe when they came down in the ſpring, which, lying dry, was leaky; ſo that we, being detained ſome hours, had a good

a good deal of friendly converſation with the family; and, eating dinner with them, we made them ſome ſmall preſents. Then, putting our baggage in the canoe, ſome of them puſhed ſlowly up the ſtream, and the reſt of us rode our horſes; and ſwimming them over a creek, called Lahawahamunk, we pitched our tent a little above it, there being a ſhower in the evening: and, in a ſenſe of God's goodneſs in helping me in my diſtreſs, ſuſtaining me under trials, and inclining my heart to truſt in him, I lay down in an humble bowed frame of mind, and had a comfortable night's lodging.

On the fifteenth day of the ſixth month, we proceeded forward till the afternoon; when, a ſtorm appearing, we met our canoe at an appointed place; and, the rain continuing, we ſtayed all night, which was ſo heavy, that it beat through our tent, and wet us and our baggage.

On the ſixteenth day, we found, on our way, abundance of trees blown down with the ſtorm the day before; and had occaſion reverently to conſider the kind dealings of the Lord, who provided a ſafe place for us in a valley, while this ſtorm continued. By the falling of abundance of trees acroſs our path, we were much hindered, and in ſome ſwamps our way was ſo ſtopped, that we got through with extreme difficulty.

I had this day often to conſider myſelf as a ſojourner in this world; and a belief in the all-ſufficiency of God to ſupport his people in

their

their pilgrimage felt comfortable to me; and I was induſtriouſly employed to get to a ſtate of perfect reſignation.

We ſeldom ſaw our canoe but at appointed places, by reaſon of the path going off from the river: and, this afternoon, Job Chilaway, an Indian from Wehalooſing, who talks good Engliſh, and is acquainted with ſeveral people in and about Philadelphia, met our people on the river; and, underſtanding where we expected to lodge, puſhed back about ſix miles, and came to us after night; and in a while our own canoe came, it being hard work puſhing up ſtream. Job told us, that an Indian came in haſte to their town yeſterday, and told them, that three warriors, coming from ſome diſtance, lodged in a town above Wehalooſing a few nights paſt; and that theſe three men were going againſt the Engliſh at Juniata. Job was going down the river to the province-ſtore at Shamokin. Though I was ſo far favoured with health as to continue travelling, yet, through the various difficulties in our journey, and the different way of living from what I had been uſed to, I grew ſick; and the news of theſe warriors being on their march ſo near us, and not knowing whether we might not fall in with them, was a freſh trial of my faith; and though, through the ſtrength of divine love, I had ſeveral times been enabled to commit myſelf to the divine diſpoſal, I ſtill found the want of my ſtrength to be renewed, that I might perſevere therein;

and

and my cries for help were put up to the Lord, who, in great mercy, gave me a reſigned heart, in which I found quietneſs.

On the ſeventeenh day, parting from Job Chilaway, we went on, and reached Wehaloosing about the middle of the afternoon; and the firſt Indian that we ſaw was a woman of a modeſt countenance, with a bible, who firſt ſpake to our guide; and then, with a harmonious voice, expreſſed her gladneſs at ſeeing us, having before heard of our coming: then, by the direction of our guide, we ſat down on a log; and he went to the town, to tell the people we were come. My companion and I ſitting thus together, in a deep inward ſtillneſs, the poor woman came and ſat near us; and, great awfulneſs coming over us, we rejoiced in a ſenſe of God's love manifeſted to our poor ſouls. After a while, we heard a conkſhell blow ſeveral times, and then came John Curtis, and another Indian man, who kindly invited us into a houſe near the town, where we found, I ſuppoſe, about ſixty people ſitting in ſilence; and, after ſitting a ſhort time, I ſtood up, and in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit acquainted them with the nature of my viſit, and that a concern for their good had made me willing to come thus far to ſee them; all in a few ſhort ſentences, which ſome of them underſtanding interpreted to the others, and there appeared gladneſs amongſt them. Then I ſhewed them my certificate, which was explained to them; and the Moravian,

ravian, who overtook us on the way, being now here, bade me welcome.

On the eighteenth day, we reſted ourſelves this forenoon; and the Indians, knowing that the Moravian and I were of different religious ſocieties, and as ſome of their people had encouraged him to come and ſtay a while with them, were, I believe, concerned, that no jarring or diſcord might be in their meetings: and they, I ſuppoſe, having conferred together, acquainted me, that the people, at my requeſt, would, at any time, come together, and hold meetings; and alſo told me, that they expected the Moravian would ſpeak in their ſettled meetings, which are commonly held morning and near evening. So I found liberty in my heart to ſpeak to the Moravian, and told him of the care I felt on my mind for the good of theſe people; and that I believed no ill effects would follow it, if I ſometimes ſpake in their meetings when love engaged me thereto, without calling them together at times when they did not meet of courſe: whereupon he expreſſed his good-will toward my ſpeaking, at any time, all that I found in my heart to ſay: ſo, near evening, I was at their meeting, where the pure goſpel-love was felt, to the tendering ſome of our hearts; and the interpreters, endeavouring to acquaint the people with what I ſaid in ſhort ſentences, found ſome difficulty, as none of them were quite perfect in the Engliſh and Delaware tongues, ſo they helped one another, and we

laboured along, divine love attending: and afterwards, feeling my mind covered with the ſpirit of prayer, I told the interpreters that I found it in my heart to pray to God, and believed, if I prayed aright, he would hear me, and expreſſed my willingneſs for them to omit interpreting; ſo our meeting ended with a degree of divine love: and, before the people went out, I obſerved Papunehang (the man who had been zealous in labouring for a reformation in that town, being then very tender) ſpoke to one of the interpreters: and I was afterwards told that he ſaid in ſubſtance as follows; "I love to "feel where words come from."

On the nineteenth day, and firſt of the week, this morning, in the meeting, the Indian, who came with the Moravian, being alſo a member of that ſociety, prayed; and then the Moravian ſpake a ſhort time to the people: and, in the afternoon, they coming together, and my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I ſpake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I, feeling the current of love run ſtrong, told the interpreters, that I believed ſome of the people would underſtand me, and ſo I proceeded: in which exerciſe, I believe the Holy Ghoſt wrought on ſome hearts to edification, where all the words were not underſtood. I looked upon it as a time of divine favour, and my heart was tendered and truly thankful before the Lord; and, after I ſat down, one of the

interpreters

interpreters ſeemed ſpirited to give the Indians the ſubſtance of what I had ſaid.

Before our firſt meeting, this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of theſe Indians, who, by the permiſſion of the ſix nations, dwell in theſe parts; and a near ſympathy with them was raiſed in me; and, my heart being enlarged in the love of Chriſt, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction does not exceed what I then felt for that people.

I came to this place through much trouble; and though, through the mercies of God, I believed, that if I died in the journey, it would be well with me; yet the thoughts of falling into the hands of Indian warriors were, in times of weakneſs, afflicting to me; and, being of a tender conſtitution of body, the thoughts of captivity amongſt them were, at times, grievous; as ſuppoſing, that they being ſtrong and hardy, might demand ſervice of me beyond what I could well bear; but the Lord alone was my keeper; and I believed, if I went into captivity, it would be for ſome good end; and thus, from time to time, my mind was centered in reſignation, in which I always found quietneſs. And now, this day, though I had the ſame dangerous wilderneſs between me and home, I was inwardly joyful that the Lord had ſtrengthened me to come on this viſit, and manifeſted a fatherly care over me in my poor lowly condition, when in mine

own eyes I appeared inferior to many amongſt the Indians.

When the laſt-mentioned meeting was ended, it being night Papunehang went to bed; and, one of the interpreters ſitting by me, I obſerved Papunehang ſpoke with an harmonious voice, I ſuppoſe a minute or two: and, aſking the interpreter, I was told, that "he was expreſſing his thankfulneſs to God for the favours he had received that day; and prayed that he would continue to favour him with that ſame, which he had experienced in that meeting." And though Papunehang had before agreed to receive the Moravian, and join with them, he ſtill appeared kind and loving to us.

On the twentieth day, I was at two meetings, and ſilent in them.

The twenty-firſt day. This morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love amongſt them, and, in ſhort plain ſentences, I expreſſed ſeveral things that reſted upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily; after which, the meeting ended in ſupplication, and I had cauſe humbly to acknowledge the loving-kindneſs of the Lord toward us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt to labour amongſt theſe people.

I now feeling my mind at liberty to return, took my leave of them in general, at the concluſion of what I ſaid in meeting; and ſo we prepared to go homeward: but

ſome

ſome of their moſt active men told us, that, when we were ready to move, the people would chooſe to come and ſhake hands with us; which thoſe who uſually come to meeting did: and, from a ſecret draught in my mind, I went amongſt ſome who did not uſe to go to meeting, and took my leave of them alſo: And the Moravian and his Indian interpreter appeared reſpectful to us at parting. This town ſtands on the bank of Suſquehannah, and conſiſts, I believe, of about forty houſes, moſtly compact together; ſome about thirty feet long, and eighteen wide, ſome bigger, ſome leſs; moſtly built of ſplit plank, one end ſet in the ground, and the other pinned to a plate, on which lay rafters, and covered with bark. I underſtand a great flood laſt winter overflowed the chief part of the ground where the town ſtands; and ſome were now about moving their houſes to higher ground.

We expected only two Indians to be our company; but, when we were ready to go, we found many of them were going to Bethlehem with ſkins and furs, who choſe to go in company with us: ſo they loaded two canoes, which they deſired us to go in, telling us, that the waters were ſo raiſed with the rains, that the horſes ſhould be taken by ſuch as were better acquainted with the fording places: ſo we, with ſeveral Indians, went in the canoes, and others went on horſes, there being ſeven beſides ours. And we meeting with the horſemen once on the

way by appointment, and that near night, a little below a branch called Tankhannah, we lodged there; and ſome of the young men, going out a little before duſk with their guns, brought in a deer.

On the twenty-ſecond day, through diligence, we reached Wioming before night, and underſtood the Indians were moſtly gone from this place: here we went up a ſmall creek into the woods with our canoes, and, pitching our tent, carried out our baggage; and before dark our horſes came to us.

On the twenty-third day in the morning their horſes were loaded, and we prepared our baggage and ſo ſet forward, being in all fourteen; and, with diligent travelling, were favoured to get near half way to Fort-Allen. The land on this road from Wioming to our frontier being moſtly poor, and good graſs ſcarce, they choſe a piece of low ground to lodge on, as the beſt for grazing; and I, having ſweated much in travelling, and being weary, ſlept ſound; I perceived in the night that I had taken cold, of which I was favoured to get better ſoon.

On the twenty-fourth day we paſſed Fort-Allen, and lodged near it in the woods.

Having forded the weſterly branch of Delaware three times, we thereby had a ſhorter way, and miſſed going over the top of the Blue Mountains, called the ſecond ridge. In the ſecond time fording, where the river cuts through the mountain, the waters being rapid and pretty deep, and my companion's mare being

being a tall, tractable, animal, he ſundry times drove her back through the river, and they loaded her with the burthens of ſome ſmall horſes, which they thought not ſufficient to come through with their loads.

The troubles weſtward, and the difficulty for Indians to paſs through our frontier, I apprehend, was one reaſon why ſo many came; as expecting that our being in company would prevent the outſide inhabitants from being ſurpriſed.

On the twenty-fifth day we reached Bethlehem, taking care on the way to keep foremoſt, and to acquaint people on and near the road who theſe Indians were: this we found very needful; for the frontier inhabirants were often alarmed at the report of Engliſh being killed by Indians weſtward.

Amongſt our company were ſome whom I did not remember to have ſeen at meeting, and ſome of theſe, at firſt, were very reſerved; but, we being ſeveral days together, and behaving friendly toward them, and making them ſuitable returns for the ſervices they did us, they became more free and ſocial.

On the twenty-ſixth day and firſt of the week, having carefully endeavoured to ſettle all affairs with the Indians relative to our journey, we took leave of them, and I thought they generally parted with us affectionately; ſo we, getting to Richland, had a very comfortable meeting amongſt our friends: here I parted with my kind friend and companion, Benjamin Parvin; and, ac-

companied by my friend, Samuel Foulk, we rode to John Cadwallader's, from whence I reached home the next day, where I found my family middling well; and they, and my friends, all along appeared glad to ſee me return from a journey which they apprehended dangerous: but my mind, while I was out, had been ſo employed in ſtriving for a perfect reſignation, and I had ſo often been confirmed in a belief, that whatever the Lord might be pleaſed to allot for me, would work for good, I was careful leſt I ſhould admit any degree of ſelfiſhneſs in being glad overmuch, and laboured to improve by thoſe trials in ſuch a manner as my gracious Father and Protector intends for me. Between the Engliſh inhabitants and Wehalooſing we had only a narrow path, which in many places is much grown up with buſhes, and interrupted by abundance of trees lying acroſs it; theſe, together with the mountains, ſwamps, and rough ſtones, make it a difficult road to travel; and the more ſo, for that rattleſnakes abound there, of which we killed four: People, who have never been in ſuch places, have but an imperfect idea of them; but I was not only taught patience, but alſo made thankful to God, who thus led me about and inſtructed me, that I might have a quick and lively feeling of the afflictions of my fellow-creatures, whoſe ſituation in life is difficult.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

His religious conversation with a company met to see the tricks of a juggler—His account of John Smith's advice, and of the proceedings of a committee, at the yearly-meeting in 1764—*Contemplations on the nature of true wisdom, occasioned by hearing of the cruelty of the Indians to their captives—His visiting the families of friends at Mount-Holly, Mansfield, and Burlington, in* 1764, *and the meetings on the sea-coast, from Cape-May, toward Squan, in* 1765—*His visit to the lower counties on Delaware, and the eastern shore of Maryland, in* 1766, *in company with John Sleeper; with some account of Joseph Nichols and his followers; and observations on the different state of the first settlers in Pennsylvania who depended on their own labour, and those of the southern provinces who kept negroes---His visiting the northern parts of New-Jersey the same year, and the western parts of Maryland and Pennsylvania in* 1767, *and afterwards other parts of Pennsylvania, and the families of friends at Mount-Holly; and again, several parts of Maryland in* 1768---*Farther considerations on keeping slaves; and his concern for having formerly, as an executor, been party to the sale of one; and what he did in consequence of it---*

it---Thoughts on friends exerciſing offices in civil government.

THE latter part of the ſummer, 1763, there came a man to Mount-Holly, who had before publiſhed, by a printed advertiſement, that, at a certain public-houſe, he would ſhew many wonderful operations, which he therein enumerated.

This man, at the time appointed, did, by ſlight of hand, ſundry things; which, to thoſe gathered, appeared ſtrange.

The next day, I, hearing of it, and underſtanding that the ſhew was to be continued the next night, and the people to meet about ſun-ſet, felt an exerciſe on that account: ſo I went to the public-houſe in the evening and told the man of the houſe that I had an inclination to ſpend a part of the evening there; with which he ſignified that he was content. Then, ſitting down by the door, I ſpake to the people, as they came together, concerning this ſhew; and, more coming and ſitting down with us, the ſeats of the door were moſtly filled; and I had converſation with them in the fear of the Lord, and laboured to convince them that, thus aſſembling to ſee thoſe tricks or ſlights of hand, and beſtowing their money to ſupport men, who, in that capacity, were of no uſe in the world, was contrary to the nature of the Chriſtian religion.

There was one of the company who, for a time, endeavoured, by arguments, to ſhew the

the reaſonableneſs of their proceedings herein; but, after conſidering ſome texts of ſcripture, and calmly debating the matter, he gave up the point. So, having ſpent about an hour amongſt them, and feeling my mind eaſy, I departed.

At our yearly-meeting at Philadelphia, on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, 1764, John Smith, of Marlborough, aged upwards of eighty years, a faithful miniſter, though not eloquent, ſtood up in our meeting of miniſters and elders, and, appearing to be under a great exerciſe of ſpirit, informed friends in ſubſtance as follows: to wit, "That he had been a member of the ſociety upward of ſixty years, and well remembered, that in thoſe early times friends were a plain lowly-minded people; and that there was much tenderneſs and contrition in their meetings.---That, at twenty years from that time, the ſociety, increaſing in wealth, and in ſome degree conforming to the faſhions of the world, true humility was leſs apparent, and their meetings, in general, not ſo lively and edifying---That, at the end of forty years, many of them were grown very rich; that wearing of fine coſtly garments, and uſing of ſilver (and other) watches, became cuſtomary with them, their ſons, and their daughters, and many of the ſociety made a ſpacious appearance in the world; which marks of outward wealth and greatneſs appeared on ſome in our meetings of miniſters and elders; and as theſe things became more prevalent, ſo the

the powerful overſhadowings of the Holy Ghoſt were leſs manifeſt in the ſociety--- That there had been a continued increaſe of theſe ways of life even until now; and that the weakneſs which hath now overſpread the ſociety, and the barrenneſs manifeſt amongſt us, are matter of much ſorrow." He then mentioned the uncertainty of his attending theſe meetings in future, expecting his diſſolution was now near; and, having tenderly expreſſed his concern for us, ſignified that he had ſeen in the true light that the Lord would bring back his people from theſe things into which they were thus degenerated, but that his faithful ſervants muſt firſt go through great and heavy exerciſes therein.

On the twenty-ninth day, the committee, appointed by the yearly-meeting to viſit the quarterly and monthly meetings, now gave an account in writing of their proceedings in that ſervice; in which they ſignified, that, in the courſe of it, they had been apprehenſive that ſome perſons holding offices in government, inconſiſtent with our principles, and others, who kept ſlaves, remaining active members in our meetings of diſcipline, had been one means of weakneſs more and more prevailing in the management thereof in ſome places. After this report was read, an exerciſe revived on my mind, which, at times, had attended me ſeveral years, and inward cries to the Lord were raiſed in me, that the fear of man

might

might not prevent me from doing what he required of me; and, ſtanding up, I ſpake in ſubſtance as follows: "I have felt a tenderneſs in my mind, toward perſons, in two circumſtances mentioned in that report; that is, toward ſuch active members as keep ſlaves, and ſuch as hold offices in civil government; and have deſired, that friends, in all their conduct, may be kindly affectioned one toward another. Many friends, who keep ſlaves, are under ſome exerciſe on that account; and, at times, think about trying them with freedom; but find many things in their way: and the way of living, and annual expences of ſome of them, are ſuch, that it ſeems impracticable for them to ſet their ſlaves free, without changing their own way of life. It has been my lot to be often abroad; and I have obſerved in ſome places, at quarterly and yearly meetings, and at ſome houſes where travelling friends and their horſes are often entertained, that the yearly expence of individuals therein is very conſiderable: and friends, in ſome places, crouding much on perſons in theſe circumſtances for entertainment, hath often reſted as a burthen on my mind for ſome years paſt; and I now expreſs it in the fear of the Lord, greatly deſiring that friends now preſent may duly conſider it."

In the fall of this year, having hired a man to work, I perceived, in converſation, that he had been a ſoldier in the late war on

this

this continent; and, in the evening, giving a narrative of his captivity amongſt the Indians, he informed me that he ſaw two of his fellow captives tortured to death in a very cruel manner.

This relation affected me with ſadneſs, under which I went to bed; and, the next morning, ſoon after I awoke, a freſh and living ſenſe of divine love was ſpread over my mind; in which I had a renewed proſpect of the nature of that wiſdom from above, which leads to a right uſe of all gifts, both ſpiritual and temporal, and gives content therein: under a feeling thereof, I wrote as follows:

"Hath he, who gave me a being attended with many wants unknown to brute-creatures, given me a capacity ſuperior to theirs; and ſhewn me, that a moderate application to buſineſs is proper to my preſent condition; and that this, attended with his bleſſing, may ſupply all outward wants, while they remain within the bounds he hath fixed; and no imaginary wants, proceeding from an evil ſpirit, have any place in me? Attend then, O my ſoul! to this pure wiſdom, as thy ſure conductor through the manifold dangers in this world!

Doth pride lead to vanity? Doth vanity form imaginary wants? Do theſe wants prompt men to exert their power in requiring that of others, which they themſelves would rather be excuſed from, were the ſame required of them?

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Do theſe proceedings beget hard thoughts? Do hard thoughts, when ripe, become malice? Does malice, when ripe, become revengeful; and, in the end, inflict terrible pains on their fellow-creature, and ſpread deſolation in the world?

Doth mankind, walking in uprightneſs, delight in each others happineſs? And do theſe creatures, capable of this attainment, by giving way to an evil ſpirit, employ their wit and ſtrength to afflict and deſtroy one another?

Remember then, O my ſoul! the quietude of thoſe in whom Chriſt governs, and in all thy proceedings feel after it!

Doth he condeſcend to bleſs thee with his preſence? To move and influence to action? To dwell in thee, and walk in thee? Remember then thy ſtation, as a being ſacred to God; accept of the ſtrength freely offered thee; and take heed that no weakneſs, in conforming to expenſive, unwiſe, and hard-hearted, cuſtoms, gendering to diſcord and ſtrife, be given way to. Doth he claim my body as his temple, and graciouſly grant that I may be ſacred to him? Oh! that I may prize this favour; and that my whole life may be conformable to this character!

Remember, O my ſoul! that the prince of peace is thy Lord: that he communicates his unmixed wiſdom to his family; that they, living in perfect ſimplicity, may give

no

no juſt cauſe of offence to any creature, but may walk as he walked!"

Having felt an openneſs in my heart toward viſiting families in our own meeting, and eſpecially in the town of Mount-Holly, the place of my abode, I mentioned it in our monthly-meeting the fore-part of the winter, 1764; which being agreed to, and ſeveral friends of our meeting being united in the exerciſe, we proceeded therein; and, through divine favour, were helped in the work, ſo that it appeared to me as a freſh reviving of godly care amongſt friends: and, the latter part of the ſame winter, I joined my friend, William Jones, in a viſit to friends families in Mansfield; in which labour I had cauſe to admire the goodneſs of the Lord toward us.

Having felt my mind drawn toward a viſit to friends along the ſea-coaſt from Cape-May to near Squan; and alſo to viſit ſome people in thoſe parts, amongſt whom there is no ſettled worſhip; I joined with my beloved friend, Benjamin Jones, in a viſit there, having friends unity therein: and, ſetting off the twenty-fourth day of the tenth month, 1765, we had a proſperous and very ſatisfactory journey; feeling, at times, through the goodneſs of the heavenly Shepherd, the goſpel to flow freely toward a poor people ſcattered in thoſe places: and ſoon after our return, I joined my friends, John Sleeper and Elizabeth Smith, in viſiting friends families

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at Burlington, there being at this time about fifty families of our ſociety in that city; and we had cauſe humbly to adore our heavenly Father, who baptized us into a feeling of the ſtate of the people, and ſtrengthened us to labour in true goſpel love amongſt them.

An exerciſe having, at times, for ſeveral years, attended me, in regard to paying a religious viſit to friends on the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland: ſuch was the nature of this exerciſe, that I believed the Lord moved me to travel on foot amongſt them, that, by ſo travelling, I might have a more lively feeling of the condition of the oppreſſed ſlaves, ſet an example of lowlineſs before the eyes of their maſters, and be more out of the way of temptation to unprofitable converſe.

The time now drawing near in which I believed it my duty to lay my concern before our monthly-meeting, I perceived, in converſation with my beloved friend, John Sleeper, that he was under a concern to travel the ſame way, and alſo to travel on foot in the form of a ſervant amongſt them, as he expreſſed it. This he told me before he knew aught of my exerciſe.

We, being thus drawn the ſame way, laid our exerciſe and the nature of it before friends; and, obtaining certificates, we ſet off the ſixth day of the fifth month, 1766; and were at meetings with friends at Wilmington, Duck-Creek, Little-Creek, and Mo-

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therkill; my heart being ſundry times tendered under the divine influence, aud enlarged in love toward the people amongſt whom we travelled.

From Motherkill, we croſſed the country about thirty-five miles to friends at Tuckahoe in Maryland, and had a meeting there and at Marſhy-Creek.

At theſe, our three laſt meetings, were a conſiderable number of people, followers of one Joſeph Nichols, a preacher; who, I underſtand, is not in outward fellowſhip with any religious ſociety of people, but profeſſeth nearly the ſame principles as our ſociety doth, and often travels up and down appointing meetings, to which many people come. I heard ſome friends ſpeaking of ſome of their neighbours, who had been irreligious people, that were now his followers, and were become ſober well-behaved men and women.

Some irregularities, I hear, have been amongſt the people at ſeveral of his meetings; but, from the whole of what I have perceived, I believe the man and ſome of his followers are honeſtly diſpoſed, but that ſkilful fathers are wanting among them: from hence we went to Choptank and Third Haven; and thence to Queen Anne's. The weather having ſome days paſt been hot and dry, and we, to attend meetings purſuant to appointment, having travelled pretty ſteadily, and had hard labour in meetings, I grew weakly,

weakly, at which I was, for a time, diſcouraged; but, looking over our journey, and thinking how the Lord had ſupported our minds and bodies, ſo that we got forward much faſter than I expected before we came out, I now ſaw that I had been in danger of too ſtrongly deſiring to get ſoon through the journey, and that this bodily weakneſs, now attending me, was a kindneſs to me; and then, in contrition of ſpirit, I became very thankful to my gracious Father, for this manifeſtation of his love; and, in humble ſubmiſſion to his will, my truſt was renewed in him.

On this part of our journey, I had many thoughts on the different circumſtances of friends, who inhabit Pennſylvania and Jerſey, from thoſe who dwell in Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina. Pennſylvania and New-Jerſey were ſettled by many friends, who were convinced of our principles in England in times of ſuffering, and, coming over, bought lands of the natives, and applied themſelves to huſbandry in a peaceable way; and many of their children were taught to labour for their living.

Few friends, I believe, came from England to ſettle in any of theſe ſouthern provinces; but, by the faithful labours of travelling friends in early times, there were conſiderable convincements amongſt the inhabitants of theſe parts. Here I remembered my reading of the warlike diſpoſition of many

of the firſt ſettlers in thoſe provinces, and of their numerous engagements with the natives, in which much blood was ſhed, even in the infancy of thoſe colonies. Theſe people, inhabiting thoſe places, being grounded in cuſtoms contrary to the pure truth, when ſome of them were affected with the powerful preaching of the word of life, and joined in fellowſhip with our ſociety, they had a great work to go through. It is obſervable, in the Hiſtory of the Reformation from Popery, that it had a gradual progreſs from age to age: the uprightneſs of the firſt reformers, in attending to the light and underſtanding given them, opened the way for ſincere-hearted people to proceed farther afterward; and thus, each one truly fearing God, and labouring in thoſe works of righteouſneſs appointed for him in his day, findeth acceptance with him: though, through the darkneſs of the times, and the corruption of manners and cuſtoms, ſome upright men may have had little more for their day's work than to attend to the righteous principle in their minds, as it related to their own conduct in life, without pointing out to others the whole extent of that, which the ſame principle would lead ſucceeding ages into. Thus, for inſtance, amongſt an imperious warlike people, ſupported by oppreſſed ſlaves, ſome of theſe maſters, I ſuppoſe, are awakened to feel and ſee their error; and, through ſincere repentance, ceaſe from oppreſſion,

ſion, and become like fathers to their ſervants; ſhewing, by their example, a pattern of humility in living, and moderation in governing, for the inſtruction and admonition of their oppreſſing neighbours; thoſe, without carrying the reformation farther, I believe, have found acceptance with the Lord. Such was the beginning; and thoſe who ſucceeded them, and have faithfully attended to the nature and ſpirit of the reformation, have ſeen the neceſſity of proceeding forward, and not only to inſtruct others, by their example, in governing well, but alſo to uſe means to prevent their ſucceſſors from having ſo much power to oppreſs others.

Here I was renewedly confirmed in my mind, that the Lord (whoſe tender mercies are over all his works, and whoſe ear is open to the cries and groans of the oppreſſed) is graciouſly moving on the hearts of people, to draw them off from the deſire of wealth, and bring them into ſuch an humble, lowly, way of living, that they may ſee their way clearly, to repair to the ſtandard of true righteouſneſs; and not only break the yoke of oppreſſion, but know him to be their ſtrength and ſupport in a time of outward affliction.

We, paſſing on, croſſed Cheſter-River; and had a meeting there, and at Cecil and Saſſafras. Through my bodily weakneſs, joined with a heavy exerciſe of mind, it was to me an

humbling diſpenſation, and I had a very lively feeling of the ſtate of the oppreſſed; yet I often thought, that what I ſuffered was little, compared with the ſufferings of the bleſſed Jeſus, and many of his faithful followers; and may ſay, with thankfulneſs, I was made content.

From Saſſafras we went pretty directly home, where we found our families well; and, for ſeveral weeks after our return, I had often to look over our journey: and though to me it appeared as a ſmall ſervice, and that ſome faithful meſſengers will yet have more bitter cups to drink in thoſe ſouthern provinces, for Chriſt's ſake, than we had; yet I found peace in that I had been helped to walk in ſincerity, according to the underſtanding and ſtrength given me.

On the thirteenth day of the eleventh month, 1766, with the unity of friends at our monthly-meeting, in company with my beloved friend, Benjamin Jones, I ſet out on a viſit to friends in the upper part of this province, having had drawings of love in my heart that way a conſiderable time: we travelled as far as Hardwick; and I had inward peace in my labours of love amongſt them.

Through the humbling diſpenſations of divine Providence, my mind hath been brought into a farther feeling of the difficulties of friends and their ſervants ſouth-weſtward: and, being often engaged in ſpirit on their

account,

account, I believed it my duty to walk into ſome parts of the weſtern ſhore of Maryland, on a religious viſit: and, having obtained a certificate from friends of our monthly-meeting, I took my leave of my family under the heart-tendering operation of truth; and, on the twentieth day of the fourth month, 1767, I rode to the ferry oppoſite to Philadelphia, and from thence walked to William Horne's, at Derby, that evening; and next day purſued my journey alone, and reached Concord week-day meeting.

Diſcouragements and a weight of diſtreſs had, at times, attended me in this loneſome walk; through which afflictions, I was mercifully preſerved: and now, ſitting down with friends, my mind was turned toward the Lord, to wait for his holy leadings; who, in infinite love, was pleaſed to ſoften my heart into humble contrition, and did renewedly ſtrengthen me to go forward; that to me it was a time of heavenly refreſhment in a ſilent meeting.

The next day I came to New-Garden week-day meeting, in which I ſat with bowedneſs of ſpirit; and, being baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of ſome preſent, the Lord gave us a heart-tendering ſeaſon; to his name be the praiſe!

I paſſed on, and was at Nottingham monthly-meeting; and at a meeting at Little-Britain on firſt-day: and in the afternoon ſeveral friends came to the houſe where I

lodged, and we had a little afternoon-meeting; and, through the humbling power of truth, I had to admire the loving-kindneſs of the Lord manifeſted to us.

On the twenty ſixth day, I croſſed Suſquehannah; and, coming amongſt people in outward eaſe and greatneſs, chiefly on the labour of ſlaves, my heart was much affected; and, in awful retiredneſs, my mind was gathered inward to the Lord, being humbly engaged that in true reſignation I might receive inſtruction from him, reſpecting my duty amongſt this people.

Though travelling on foot was weariſome to my body; yet thus travelling was agreeable to the ſtate of my mind.

I went gently on, being weakly; and was covered with ſorrow and heavineſs, on account of the ſpreading prevailing ſpirit of this world, introducing cuſtoms grievous and oppreſſive on one hand, and cheriſhing pride and wantonneſs on the other. In this lonely walk, and ſtate of abaſement and humiliation, the ſtate of the church in theſe parts was opened before me; and I may truly ſay with the prophet, "I was bowed down at "the hearing of it; I was diſmayed at the "ſeeing of it." Under this exerciſe, I attended the quarterly-meeting at Gunpowder; and, in bowedneſs of ſpirit, I had to open, with much plainneſs, what I felt reſpecting friends living in fullneſs, on the labours of the poor oppreſſed negroes; and

that

that promiſe of the Moſt High was now revived: "I will gather all nations and "tongues; and they ſhall come and ſee my "glory."—Here the ſufferings of Chriſt, and his taſting death for every man, and the travels, ſufferings, and martyrdoms, of the apoſtles and primitive Chriſtians, in labouring for the converſion of the Gentiles, were livingly revived in me; and, according to the meaſure of ſtrength afforded, I laboured in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit, being deeply affected amongſt them: and thus the difference, between the preſent treatment which theſe Gentiles, the negroes, receive at our hands, and the labours of the primitive Chriſtians for the converſion of the Gentiles, was preſſed home, and the power of truth came over us; under a feeling of which, my mind was united to a tender-hearted people in thoſe parts; and the meeting concluded in a ſenſe of God's goodneſs toward his humble dependent children.

The next day was a general meeting for worſhip, much crouded; in which I was deeply engaged in inward cries to the Lord for help, that I might ſtand wholly reſigned, and move only as he might be pleaſed to lead me: and I was mercifully helped to labour honeſtly and fervently amongſt them, in which I found inward peace; and the ſincere were comforted.

From hence I turned toward Pipe-Creek, and paſſed on to the Red-Lands; and had

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ſeveral meetings amongſt friends in thoſe parts. My heart was often tenderly affected, under a ſenſe of the Lord's goodneſs, in ſanctifying my troubles and exerciſes, turning them to my comfort, and, I believe, to the benefit of many others: for, I may ſay, with thankfulneſs, that in this viſit, it appeared like a freſh tendering viſitation in moſt places.

I paſſed on to the weſtern quarterly-meeting in Pennſylvania; during the ſeveral days of this meeting, I was mercifully preſerved in an inward feeling after the mind of truth, and my public labours tended to my humiliation, with which I was content: and, after the quarterly-meeting of worſhip ended, I felt drawings to go to the women's meeting of buſineſs; which was very full: and here the humility of Jeſus Chriſt, as a pattern for us to walk by, was livingly opened before me; and in treating on it my heart was enlarged; and it was a baptizing time. From hence I went on; and was at meetings at Concord, Middletown, Providence, and Haddonfield, and ſo home; where I found my family well. A ſenſe of the Lord's merciful preſervation, in this my journey, excites reverent thankfulneſs to him!

On the ſecond day of the ninth month, 1767, with the unity of friends, I ſet off on a viſit to friends in the upper part of Berks and Philadelphia counties; was at eleven meetings in about two weeks; and

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have renewed cauſe to bow in reverence before the Lord, who, by the powerful extendings of his humbling goodneſs, opened my way amongſt friends, and made the meetings (I truſt) profitable to us. And, the winter following, I joined friends on a viſit to friends families, in ſome part of our meeting; in which exerciſe, the pure influence of divine love made our viſits reviving.

On the fifth day of the fifth month, 1768, I left home under the humbling hand of the Lord, having obtained a certificate, in order to viſit ſome meetings in Maryland; and to proceed without a horſe looked cleareſt to me. I was at the quarterly-meetings at Philadelphia and Concord; and then went on to Cheſter-River; and, croſſing the Bay with friends, was at the yearly-meeting at Weſt-River; thence back to Cheſter-River; and, taking a few meetings in my way, proceeded home. It was a journey of much inward waiting; and, as my eye was to the Lord, way was, ſeveral times, opened to my humbling admiration, when things had appeared very difficult.

In my return, I felt a relief of mind, very comfortable to me; having, through divine help, laboured in much plainneſs, both with friends ſelected, and in the more public meetings: ſo that (I truſt) the pure witneſs, in many minds, was reached.

The eleventh day of the ſixth month, 1769. Sundry caſes have happened, of late years,

years, within the limits of our monthly-meeting, reſpecting that of exerciſing pure righteouſneſs toward the negroes; in which I have lived under a labour of heart, that equity might be ſteadily kept to. On this account, I have had ſome cloſe exerciſes amongſt friends; in which, I may thankfully ſay, I find peace: and, as my meditations have been on univerſal love, my own conduct in time paſt became of late very grievous to me.

As perſons, ſetting negroes free in our province, are bound by law to maintain them, in caſe they have need of relief, ſome, who ſcrupled keeping ſlaves for term of life, in the time of my youth, were wont to detain their young negroes in their ſervice till thirty years of age, without wages, on that account: and with this cuſtom I ſo far agreed, that I, being joined to another friend, in executing the will of a deceaſed friend, once ſold a negroe lad till he might attain the age of thirty years, and applied the money to the uſe of the eſtate.

With abaſement of heart, I may now ſay, that ſometimes, as I have ſat in a meeting, with my heart exerciſed toward that awful Being, who reſpecteth not perſons nor colours, and have looked upon this lad, I have felt that all was not clear in my mind reſpecting him: and as I have attended to this exerciſe, and fervently ſought the Lord, it hath appeared to me, that I ſhould make

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ſome reſtitution, but in what way I ſaw not till lately; when, being under ſome concern that I may be reſigned to go on a viſit to ſome part of the Weſt-Indies, and under cloſe engagement of ſpirit, ſeeking to the Lord for counſel herein, that, of my joining in the ſale aforeſaid, came heavily upon me; and my mind, for a time, was covered with darkneſs and ſorrow; and, under this ſore affliction, my heart was ſoftened to receive inſtruction: and here I firſt ſaw, that, as I had been one of the two executors, who had ſold this lad nine years longer than is common for our own childern to ſerve, ſo I ſhould now offer a part of my ſubſtance to redeem the laſt half of that nine years; but, as the time was not yet come, I executed a bond, binding me and my executors to pay to the man, he was ſold to, what, to candid men, might appear equitable for the laſt four years and a half of his time, in caſe the ſaid youth ſhould be living, and in a condition likely to provide comfortably for himſelf.

The ninth day of the tenth month, 1769. My heart hath often been deeply afflicted under a feeling I have had, that the ſtandard of pure righteouſneſs is not lifted up to the people by us, as a ſociety, in that clearneſs which it might have been, had we been ſo faithful to the teachings of Chriſt as we ought to have been: and, as my mind hath been inward to the Lord, the purity of

Chriſt's

Chriſt's government hath been opened in my underſtanding; and, under this exerciſe, that of friends being active in civil ſociety, in putting laws in force which are not agreeable to the purity of righteouſneſs, hath, for ſeveral years, been an increaſing burthen upon me; having felt, in the openings of univerſal love, that where a people, convinced of the truth of the inward teachings of Chriſt, are active in putting laws in execution which are not conſiſtent with pure wiſdom, it hath a neceſſary tendency to bring dimneſs over their minds: and, as my heart hath been thus exerciſed, and a tender ſympathy in me toward my fellow-members, I have, within a few months paſt, in ſeveral meetings for diſcipline, expreſſed my concern on this ſubject.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

His preparing to viſit friends in England—His embarking at Cheſter, in company with Samuel Emlen, in a ſhip bound to London—His deep exerciſe, in obſerving the difficulties and hardſhips the common ſailors are expoſed to—Conſiderations on the dangers to which youth are expoſed, in being trained to a ſea-faring life; and its inconſiſtency with a pious education—His thoughts in a ſtorm at ſea: with many inſtructive contemplations on the voyage—And his arrival at London.

HAVING been ſome time under a religious concern to prepare for croſſing the ſeas, in order to viſit friends in the northern parts of England, and more particularly in Yorkſhire; after weighty conſideration, I thought it expedient to inform friends, at our monthly-meeting at Burlington, of it; who, having unity with me therein, gave me a certificate; and I afterward communicated the ſame to our quarterly-meeting, and they likewiſe certified their concurrence therewith. Some time after which, at the general ſpring-meeting of miniſters and elders, I thought it my duty to acquaint them of the religious exerciſe which attended my mind; with which they likewiſe ſignified their unity by a certificate, dated the twenty-fourth day of the

the third month, 1772, directed to friends in Great-Britain.

In the fourth month following, I thought the time was come for me to make ſome enquiry for a ſuitable conveyance; being apprehenſive that, as my concern was principally toward the northern parts of England, it would be moſt proper to go in a veſſel bound to Liverpool or Whitehaven: and, while I was at Philadelphia, deliberating on this occaſion, I was informed, that my beloved friend, Samuel Emlen, jun. intending to go to London, and having taken a paſſage for himſelf in the cabin of the ſhip, called Mary and Elizabeth, of which James Sparks was maſter, and John Head, of the city of Philadelphia, one of the owners; and I feeling a draught in my mind toward the ſteerage of the ſame ſhip, went firſt and opened to Samuel the feeling I had concerning it.

My beloved friend appeared glad that I had thoughts of going in the veſſel with him, though my proſpect was toward the ſteerage; and he, offering to go with me, we went on-board, firſt in the cabin, a commodious room, and then into the ſteerage; where we ſat down on a cheſt, the ſailors being buſy about us: then the owner of the ſhip came, and ſat down with us.

Here my mind was turned toward Chriſt, the heavenly counſellor; and I feeling, at this time, my own will ſubjected, my heart was contrite before him.

A motion

A motion was made, by the owner, to go and ſit in the cabin, as a place more retired; but I felt eaſy to leave the ſhip, and made no agreement as to a paſſage in her; but told the owner, if I took a paſſage in the ſhip, I believed it would be in the ſteerage; but did not ſay much as to my exerciſe in that caſe.

I went to my lodgings, and ſoon after went to bed, and my mind was under a deep exerciſe before the Lord; whoſe helping hand was manifeſted to me as I ſlept that night, and his love ſtrengthened my heart. In the morning I went with two friends on-board the veſſel again; and, after a ſhort time ſpent therein, I went, with Samuel Emlen, to the houſe of the owner; to whom, in the hearing of Samuel only, I opened my exerciſe, in relation to a ſcruple with regard to a paſſage in the cabin.

After this I agreed for a paſſage in the ſteerage; and, hearing in town that Joſeph White had a deſire to ſee me, I felt the reviving of a deſire to ſee him, and went then to his houſe, and next day home; where I tarried two nights: and then, early in the morning, I parted with my family, under a ſenſe of the humbling hand of God upon me; and, going to Philadelphia, had opportunity with ſeveral of my beloved friends; who appeared to be concerned for me, on account of the unpleaſant ſituation of that part of the veſſel where I was likely to lodge.

Having ſtayed two nights in Philadelphia, I went the next day to Derby monthly-meet-

ing; where, through the ſtrength of divine love, my heart was enlarged toward the youth then preſent; under which I was helped to labour in ſome tenderneſs of ſpirit. Then, lodging at William Horne's, I, with one friend, went to Cheſter; where, meeting with Samuel Emlen, we went on-board, the firſt day of the fifth month, 1772; and, as I ſat down alone, on a ſeat on the deck, I felt a ſatisfactory evidence that my proceedings were not in my own will, but under the power of the croſs of Chriſt.

Seventh day of the fifth month. We have had rough weather moſtly ſince I came on-board; and the paſſengers, James Reynolds, John Till-Adams, Sarah Logan and her hired maid, and John Biſpham, were all ſea-ſick, more or leſs, at times; from which ſickneſs, through the tender mercies of my heavenly Father, I have been preſerved; my afflictions now being of another kind.

There appeared an openneſs in the minds of the maſter of the ſhip and of the cabin-paſſengers toward me: we were often together on the deck, and ſometimes in the cabin.

My mind, through the merciful help of the Lord, hath been preſerved, in a good degree, watchful and inward; and I have, this day, great cauſe to be thankful, in that I remain to feel quietneſs of mind.

As my lodging in the ſteerage, now near a week, hath afforded me ſundry opportunities of ſeeing, hearing, and feeling, with reſpect

reſpect to the life and ſpirit of many poor ſailors, an inward exerciſe of ſoul hath attended me, in regard to placing our children and youth where they may be likely to be exampled and inſtructed in the pure fear of the Lord; and I, being much amongſt the ſeamen, have, from a motion of love, ſundry times taken opportunities, with one of them at a time alone, and in a free converſation laboured to turn their minds toward the fear of the Lord: and this day we had a meeting in the cabin, where my heart was contrite under a feeling of divine love.

Now, concerning lads being trained up as ſeamen: I believe a communication from one part of the world to ſome other parts of it, by ſea, is, at times, conſiſtent with the will of our heavenly Father; and to educate ſome youth in the practice of ſailing, I believe, may be right: but how lamentable is the preſent corruption of the world! how impure are the channels through which trade hath a conveyance! how great is that danger, to which poor lads are now expoſed, when placed on ſhipboard to learn the art of ſailing!

Oh! that all may take heed and beware of covetouſneſs! Oh! that all may learn of Chriſt, who was meek and low of heart! Then, in faithfully following him, he will teach us to be content with food and raiment, without reſpect to the cuſtoms or honours of this world.

Men, thus redeemed, will feel a tender concern for their fellow-creatures, and a deſire

that thoſe in the loweſt ſtations may be aſſiſted and encouraged; and, where owners of ſhips attain to the perfect law of liberty, and are doers of the word, theſe will be bleſſed in their deeds.

Riſing to work in the night is not commonly pleaſant in any caſe; but, in dark rainy nights, it is very diſagreeable, even though each man were furniſhed with all conveniences: but, if men muſt go out at midnight, to help manage the ſhip in the rain, and, having ſmall room to ſleep and lay their garments in, are often beſet to furniſh themſelves for the watch, their garments or ſome thing relating to their buſineſs being wanting and not eaſily found, when, from the urgency occaſioned by high winds, they are haſtened and called up ſuddenly, here is a trial of patience on the poor ſailors and the poor lads their companions.

If, after they have been on deck ſeveral hours in the night, and come down into the ſteerage ſoaking wet, and are ſo cloſe ſtowed that proper convenience for change of garment is not eaſily come at, but, for want of proper room, their wet garments are thrown in heaps, and ſometimes, through much crouding, are trodden under foot in going to their lodgings and getting out of them, and they have great difficulties, at times, each one to find his own, here are trials on the poor ſailors.

Now, as I have been with them in my lodge, my heart hath often yearned for them, and tender deſires have been raiſed in me, that all

owners

owners and maſters of veſſels may dwell in the love of God, and therein act uprightly; and, by ſeeking leſs for gain, and looking carefully to their ways, may earneſtly labour to remove all cauſe of provocation from the poor ſeamen, either to fret or uſe exceſs of ſtrong drink; for, indeed, the poor creatures, at times, in the wet and cold, ſeem to apply to ſtrong drink to ſupply the want of other convenience.

Great reformation in the world is wanting; and the neceſſity of it, amongſt theſe who do buſineſs on great waters, hath, at this time, been abundantly opened before me.

The eighth day of the fifth month. — This morning the clouds gathered, the wind blew ſtrong from ſouth-eaſtward, and before noon increaſed to that degree that ſailing appeared dangerous. The ſeamen then bound up ſome of their ſails, and took down ſome; and, the ſtorm increaſing, they put the dead-lights, ſo called, into the cabin-windows, and lighted a lamp as at night.

The wind now blew vehemently, and the ſea wrought to that degree, that an awful ſeriouſneſs prevailed in the cabin, in which I ſpent, I believe, about ſeventeen hours; for I believed the poor wet toiling ſeamen had need of all the room in the crouded ſteerage, and the cabin-paſſengers had given me frequent invitations.

They ceaſed now from ſailing, and put the veſſel in the poſture called, lying-to.

My mind, in this tempeſt, through the gracious aſſiſtance of the Lord, was preſerved

in a good degree of reſignation; and I felt, at times, a few words in his love to my ſhipmates, in regard to the all-ſufficiency of him who formed the great deep, and whoſe care is ſo extenſive, that a ſparrow falls not without his notice; and thus, in a tender frame of mind, ſpake to them of the neceſſity of our yielding, in true obedience, to the inſtructions of our heavenly Father, who ſometimes, through adverſities, intendeth our refinement.

About eleven at night I went out on the deck, when the ſea wrought exceedingly, and the high-foaming waves, all round about, had in ſome ſort the appearance of fire, but did not give much, if any, light.

The ſailor, then at the helm, ſaid he lately ſaw a corpoſant at the head of the maſt.

About this time I obſerved the maſter of the ſhip ordered the carpenter to keep on the deck; and, though he ſaid little, I apprehended his care was, that the carpenter, with his axe might be in readineſs, in caſe of any extremity.

Soon after this, the vehemency of the wind abated; and, before morning, they again put the ſhip under ſail.

The tenth day of the month, and firſt of the week, it being fine weather, we had a meeting in the cabin, at which moſt of the ſeamen were preſent; this meeting to me was a ſtrengthening time.

The thirteenth day of the month. As I continue to lodge in the ſteerage, I feel an openneſs this morning, to expreſs ſomething

farther

farther of the ſtate of my mind, in reſpect to poor lads bound apprentice to learn the art of ſailing. As I believe ſailing is of ſome uſe in the world, a labour of ſoul attends me, that the pure counſel of truth may be humbly waited for in this caſe, by all concerned in the buſineſs of the ſeas.

A pious father, whoſe mind is exerciſed for the everlaſting welfare of his child, may not, with a peaceable mind, place him out to an employment amongſt a people, whoſe common courſe of life is manifeſtly corrupt and prophane; ſo great is the preſent defect amongſt ſea-faring men, in regard to piety and virtue: and, through an abundant traffic, and many ſhips of war, ſo many people are employed on the ſea, that this ſubject of placing lads to the employment appears very weighty.

Prophane examples are very corrupting, and very forcible. And as my mind, day after day, and night after night, hath been affected with a ſympathizing tenderneſs toward poor children, put to the employment of ſailors, I have ſometimes had weighty converſation with the ſailors in the ſteerage, who were moſtly reſpectful to me, and more and more ſo the longer I was with them: they moſtly appeared to take kindly what I ſaid to them; but their minds have appeared to be ſo deeply impreſſed with that almoſt univerſal depravity amongſt ſailors, that the poor creatures, in their anſwers to me on this ſubject, have revived in my remembrance that of the degenerate Jews

a little before the captivity, as repeated by Jeremiah the prophet, " There is no hope."

Now, under this exercise, a sense of the desire of outward gain prevailing amongst us hath felt grevious, and a strong call to the professed followers of Christ hath been raised in me, that all may take heed, lest, through loving this present world, they be found in a continued neglect of duty, with respect to a faithful labour for a reformation.

Silence, as to every motion proceeding from the love of money, and an humble waiting upon God to know his will concerning us, have now appeared necessary: he alone is able to strengthen us to dig deep, to remove all which lies between us and the safe foundation, and so direct us in our outward employments, that pure universal love may shine forth in our proceedings.

Desires arising from the spirit of truth are pure desires; and when a mind, divinely opened toward a young generation, is made sensible of corrupting examples, powerfully working, and extensively spreading amongst them, how moving is the prospect!

The sixteenth day of the month. Wind for several days past often high, what the sailors call squally, rough sea and frequent rains. This last night a very trying night to the poor seamen: the water, chief part of the night, running over the main deck, and sometimes breaking-waves came on the quarter-deck. The latter part of the night, as I lay in bed, my mind was humbled under the power

of

of divine love; and reſignedneſs to the great Creator of the earth and the ſeas, renewedly wrought in me whoſe fatherly care over his children felt precious to my ſoul: and deſires were now renewed in me, to embrace every opportunity of being inwardly acquainted with the hardſhips and difficulties of my fellow-creatures, and to labour in his love for the ſpreading of pure univerſal righteouſneſs on the earth. The opportunities were frequent of hearing converſation amongſt the ſailors, in reſpect to the voyages to Africa, and the manner of bringing the deeply-oppreſſed ſlaves into our iſlands. The thoughts of their condition, frequently in chains and fetters on-board the veſſels, with hearts loaded with grief, under the apprehenſions of miſerable ſlavery; my mind was frequently opened to meditate on theſe things.

On the ſeventeeth day of the month, and firſt of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin; to which the ſeamen generally came. My ſpirit was contrite before the Lord; whoſe love, at this time, affected my heart.

This afternoon I felt a tender ſympathy of ſoul with my poor wife and family left behind; in which ſtate, my heart was enlarged in deſires that they may walk in that humble obedience wherein the everlaſting Father may be their guide and ſupport, through all the difficulties in this world; and a ſenſe of that gracious aſſiſtance, through which my mind hath been ſtrengthened to take up the croſs and leave them, to travel in the love of truth,

hath

hath begotten thankfulneſs in my heart to our great Helper.

On the twenty-fourth day of the month, and firſt of the week, a clear pleaſant morning: and, as I ſat on-deck, I felt a reviving in my nature; which, through much rainy weather and high winds, being ſhut up in a cloſe unhealthy air, was weakened.

Several nights of late I felt breathing difficult; that a little after the riſing of the ſecond watch (which is about midnight) I got up, and ſtood, I believe, near an hour, with my face near the hatchway, to get the freſh air at the ſmall vacancy under the hatch door; which is commonly ſhut down, partly to keep out rain, and ſometimes to keep the breaking-waves from daſhing into the ſteerage.

I may, with thankfulneſs to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, that, in my preſent weak ſtate, my mind hath been ſupported to bear the affliction with patience; and have looked at the preſent diſpenſation as a kindneſs from the great Father of mankind, who, in this my floating pilgrimage, is in ſome degree bringing me to feel that, which many thouſands of my fellow-creatures often ſuffer in a greater degree.

My appetite failing, the trial hath been the heavier; and I have felt tender breathings in my ſoul after God, the fountain of comfort, whoſe inward help hath ſupplied, at times, the want of outward convenience: and ſtrong deſires have attended me, that his family, who are acquainted with the movings of his Holy Spirit,

Spirit, may be ſo redeemed from the love of money, and from that ſpirit in which men ſeek honour one of another, that in all buſineſs, by ſea or land, we may conſtantly keep in view the coming of his kingdom on earth, as it is in heaven; and, by faithfully following this ſafe guide, ſhew forth examples, tending to lead out of that under which the creation groans!

This day we had a meeting in the cabin; in which I was favoured in ſome degree to experience the fulfilling of that ſaying of the prophet, "The Lord hath been a ſtrength "to the poor, a ſtrength to the needy in their diſtreſs;" for which, my heart is bowed in thankfulneſs before him!

The twenty-eighth day of the month: — wet weather of late, ſmall winds inclining to calms: our ſeamen have caſt a lead, I ſuppoſe about one hundred fathoms, but find no bottom: foggy weather this morning.

Through the kindneſs of the great Preſerver of men my mind remains quiet; and a degree of exerciſe, from day to day, attends me, that the pure peaceable government of Chriſt may ſpread and prevail amongſt mankind.

The leading on of a young generation in that pure way in which the wiſdom of this world hath no place; where parents and tutors, humbly waiting for the heavenly Counſellor, may example them in the truth, as it is in Jeſus; — this, for ſeveral days, hath been the exerciſe of my mind. Oh! how ſafe, how

how quiet, is that ſtate, where the ſoul ſtands in pure obedience to the voice of Chriſt, and a watchful care is maintained not to follow the voice of the ſtranger!

Here Chriſt is felt to be our ſhepherd, and, under his leading, people are brought to a ſtability; and, where he doth not lead forward, we are bound, in the bonds of pure love, to ſtand ſtill and wait upon him. In the love of money, and in the wiſdom of this world, buſineſs is propoſed; then the urgency of affairs puſhes forward; nor can the mind, in this ſtate, diſcern the good and perfect will of God concerning us.

The love of God is manifeſted in graciouſly calling us to come out of that which ſtands in confuſion: but, if we bow not in the name of Jeſus; if we give not up thoſe proſpects of gain, which, in the wiſdom of this world, are open before us, but ſay, in our hearts, I muſt needs go on, and, in going on, I hope to keep as near to the purity of truth as the buſineſs before me will admit of; here the mind remains entangled, and the ſhining of the light of life into the ſoul is obſtructed.

In an entire ſubjection of our wills the Lord graciouſly opens a way for his people, where all their wants are bounded by his wiſdom; and here we experience the ſubſtance of what Moſes the prophet figured out in the water of ſeparation, as a purification from ſin.

Eſau is mentioned as a child red all over, like a hairy garment: in Eſau is repreſented the

the natural will of man. In preparing the water of ſeparation, a red heifer, without blemiſh, on which there had been no yoke, was to be ſlain, and her blood ſprinkled by the prieſt ſeven times toward the tabernacle of the congregation: then her ſkin, her fleſh, and all pertaining to her, were to be burnt without the camp; and of her aſhes the water was prepared. Thus the crucifying the old man, or natural will, is repreſented; and hence comes a ſeparation from that carnal mind, which is death.

"He who toucheth the dead body of a "man, and purifieth not himſelf with the "water of ſeparation, he defileth the taber-"nacle of the Lord; he is unclean." Numb. xix. 13.

If any, through the love of gain, go forth into buſineſs, wherein they dwell as amongſt the tombs, and touch the bodies of thoſe who are dead; if theſe, through the infinite love of God, feel the power of the croſs of Chriſt to crucify them to the world, and therein learn humbly to follow the divine Leader; — here is the judgement of this world; — here the prince of this world is caſt out.

The water of ſeparation is felt; and, though we have been amongſt the ſlain, and, through the deſire of gain, have touched the dead body of a man, yet, in the purifying love of Chriſt, we are waſhed in the water of ſeparation; are brought off from that buſineſs, from that gain, and from that fellowſhip, which was not agreeable to his holy will: and

I have

I have felt a renewed confirmation, in the time of this voyage, that the Lord, in his infinite love, is calling to his viſited children, ſo to give up all outward poſſeſſions and means of getting treaſures, that his Holy Spirit may have free courſe in their hearts, and direct them in all their proceedings.

To feel the ſubſtance pointed at in this figure, man muſt know death, as to his own will.

" No man can ſee God, and live." This was ſpoken by the Almighty to Moſes the prophet, and opened by our bleſſed Redeemer.

As death comes on our own wills, and a new life is formed in us, the heart is purified and prepared to underſtand clearly. " Bleſ-
" ſed are the pure in heart; for they ſhall
" ſee God." In purity of heart the mind is divinely opened to behold the nature of univerſal righteouſneſs, or the righteouſneſs of the kingdom of God. " No man hath ſeen
" the Father, ſave he that is of God; he hath
" ſeen the Father."

The natural mind is active about the things of this life; and, in this natural activity, buſineſs is propoſed, and a will in us to go forward in it. As long as this natural will remains unſubjected, ſo long there remains an obſtruction againſt the clearneſs of divine light operating in us; but when we love God with all our heart, and with all our ſtrength, then, in this love, we love our neighbours as ourſelves; and a tenderneſs of heart is felt toward all people for

whom

whom Chriſt died, even ſuch who, as to outward circumſtances, may be to us as the Jews were to the Samaritans. Who is my neighbour? See this queſtion anſwered by our Saviour, Luke x. 30.

In this love we can ſay, that Jeſus is the Lord; and the reformation in our ſouls is manifeſted in a full reformation of our lives, wherein all things are new, and all things are of God; 2 Cor. v. 18. in this the deſire of gain is ſubjected.

When employment is honeſtly followed in the light of truth, and people become diligent in buſineſs, "fervent in ſpirit, ſerving the "Lord;" Rom. xii. 11. here the name is opened: "This is the name by which he ſhall "be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTE-"OUSNESS." Jerem. xxiii. 6. Oh! how precious is this name! it is like ointment poured out. The chaſte virgins are in love with the Redeemer; and, for the promoting his peaceable kingdom in the world, are content to endure hardneſs, like good ſoldiers; and are ſo ſeparated in ſpirit from the deſire of riches, that in their employments they become extenſively careful to give none offence, neither to Jews nor heathen, nor the church of Chriſt.

On the thirty-firſt day of the month, and firſt of the week, we had a meeting in the cabin, with near all the ſhip's company; the whole being near thirty. In this meeting, the Lord, in mercy, favoured us with the extendings of his love.

The

The ſecond day of the ſixth month. Laſt evening the ſeamen found bottom at about ſeventy fathoms.

This morning, fair wind, and pleaſant. As I ſat on deck, my heart was overcome with the love of Chriſt, and melted into contrition before him; and, in this ſtate, the proſpect of that work, to which I have felt my mind drawn when in my native land, being in ſome degree opened before me, I felt like a little child; and my cries were put up to my heavenly Father for preſervation, that, in a humble dependence on him, my ſoul might be ſtrengthened in his love, and kept inwardly waiting for his counſel.

This afternoon we ſaw that part of England called the Lizard.

Some dunghill fowls yet remained of thoſe the paſſengers took for their ſea-ſtore: I believe about fourteen periſhed in the ſtorms at ſea, by the waves breaking over the quarter-deck; and a conſiderable number with ſickneſs, at different times. I obſerved the cocks crew, coming down the Delaware, and while we were near the land; but afterward I think I did not hear one of them crow till we came near the land in England, when they again crowed a few times.

In obſerving their dull appearance at ſea, and the pining ſickneſs of ſome of them, I often remembered the Fountain of goodneſs, who gave being to all creatures, and whoſe love extends to that of caring for the ſparrows; and believe, where the love of God is

verily

verily perfected, and the true ſpirit of government watchfully attended to, a tenderneſs toward all creatures made ſubject to us will be experienced, and a care felt in us, that we do not leſſen that ſweetneſs of life, in the animal creation, which the great Creator intends for them in our government.

The fourth day of the month. About noon a pilot came off from Dover; where my beloved friend, Samuel Emlen, went on ſhore, and thence to London; but I felt eaſy in ſtaying in the ſhip.

The ſeventh day of the month, and firſt of the week. Clear morning; we lay at anchor for the tide, and had a parting meeting with the ſhip's company; in which my heart was enlarged in a fervent concern for them, that they may come to experience ſalvation through Chriſt. We had a head-wind up the Thames; lay ſometimes at anchor; ſaw many ſhips paſſing, and ſome at anchor near; and had large opportunity of feeling the ſpirit in which the poor bewildered ſailors too generally live.—That lamentable degeneracy, which ſo much prevails on the people employed on the ſeas, ſo affected my heart, that I cannot eaſily convey the feeling I have had to another.

CHAP. XI.

His attending the yearly-meeting in London; and, after it, proceeding towards Yorkshire, visiting several quarterly and other meetings in the counties of Hertford, Warwick, Oxford, Nottingham, York, and Westmoreland; and thence again into Yorkshire, and to the city of York; with some instructive thoughts and observations, and letters on divers subjects — His hearing of the decease of William Hunt; and some account of him — His sickness at York; and end of his pilgrimage there.

ON the eighth day of the sixth month, 1772, we landed at London; and I went straightway to the yearly-meeting of ministers and elders, which had been gathered (I suppose) about half an hour.

In this meeting my mind was humbly contrite: in the afternoon the meeting of business opened; which, by adjournments, held near a week. In these meetings I often felt a living concern for the establishment of friends in the pure life of truth; and my heart was enlarged in the meeting of ministers, meeting of business, and in several meetings of public worship; and I felt my mind united in true love to the faithful labourers now gathered at this yearly-meeting.

On the fifteenth day of the month, I left London, and went to a quarterly-meeting at Hertford.

The

The firſt day of the ſeventh month. I have been at quarterly-meetings at Sherrington, Northampton, Banbury, and Shipſton; and had ſundry meetings between: my mind hath been bowed under a ſenſe of divine goodneſs manifeſted amongſt us; my heart hath been often enlarged in true love, both amongſt miniſters and elders, and in public meetings; that through the Lord's goodneſs, I believe it hath been a freſh viſitation to many, in particular to the youth.

The ſeventeenth day of the month. Was this day at Birmingham: have been at meetings at Coventry, Warwick, in Oxfordſhire, and ſundry other places; have felt the humbling hand of the Lord upon me; and through his tender mercies find peace in the labours I have gone through.

The twenty-ſixth day of the month. I have continued travelling northward, viſiting meetings: was this day at Nottingham; which, in the forenoon eſpecially, was, through divine love, a heart-tendering ſeaſon: next day had a meeting in a friend's houſe with friends children and ſome friends; this, through the ſtrengthening arm of the Lord, was a time to be thankfully remembered.

The ſecond day of the eighth month, and firſt of the week. Was this day at Sheffield, a large inland town: have been at ſundry meetings laſt week; and feel inward thankfulneſs for that divine ſupport, which hath been graciouſly extended to me.

The ninth day of the month, and firſt of the week, was at Ruſhworth: have lately paſſed

through ſome painful labour; but have been comforted, under a ſenſe of that divine viſitation, which I feel extended toward many young people.

The ſixteenth day of the month, and firſt of the week, I was at Settle: it hath of late been a time of inward poverty; under which my mind hath been preſerved in a watchful tender ſtate, feeling for the mind of the holy Leader, and I find peace in the labours I have paſſed through.

I have felt great diſtreſs of mind, ſince I came on this iſland, on account of the members of our ſociety being mixed with the world in various ſorts of buſineſs and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for ſlaves! and, in loading theſe ſhips, abundance of people are employed in the factories; amongſt whom are many of our ſociety. Friends, in early times, refuſed, on a religious principle, to make, or trade in, ſuperfluities; of which we have many large teſtimonies on record: but, for want of faithfulneſs, ſome gave way; even ſome, whoſe examples were of note in our ſociety; and from thence others took more liberty. Members of our ſociety worked in ſuperfluities, and bought and ſold them; and thus dimneſs of ſight came over many: at length, friends got into the uſe of ſome ſuperfluities in dreſs, and in the furniture of their houſes; and this hath ſpread from leſs to more, till ſuperfluity of ſome kinds is common amongſt us.

In this declining ſtate, many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years, a

deep

deep exerciſe hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully caſt forth the looſe matter, and get down to the Rock, the ſure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain ſound; and I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if friends, who have known the truth, keep in that tenderneſs of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their truſt is only on the Lord, he will graciouſly lead ſome to be patterns of deep ſelf-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that ſome, who have plenty of the treaſures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages, to ſuch as they may hire, more liberally than is now cuſtomary in ſome places.

The twenty-third day of the month. Was this day at Preſton-Patrick, and had a comfortable meeting. I have, ſeveral times, been entertained at the houſes of friends, who had ſundry things about them which had the appearance of outward greatneſs; and, as I have kept inward, way hath opened for converſation with ſuch in private, in which divine goodneſs hath favoured us together with heart-tendering times.

I reſted a few days, in body and mind, with our friend Jane Crosfield; who was once in America: was, on the ſixth day of the week, at Kendal in Weſtmoreland; and at Greyrig meeting the thirtieth day of the month, and firſt of the week.

I have known poverty of late; and been graciouſly ſupported to keep in the patience: and am thankful, under a ſenſe of the goodneſs of the Lord toward thoſe that are of a contrite ſpirit.

The ſixth day of the ninth month, and firſt of the week. Was this day at Counterſide; a large meeting-houſe, and very full: and, through the opening of pure love, it was a ſtrengthening time to me, and (I believe) to many more.

The thirteenth day of the month. Was this day at Richmond, a ſmall meeting; but, the town's people coming in, the houſe was crowded: it was a time of heavy labour; and (I believe) was a profitable meeting.

At this place I heard that my kinſman William Hunt, from North-Carolina, who was on a religious viſit to friends in England, departed this life on the ninth day of the ninth month, inſtant, of the ſmall-pox, at Newcaſtle.—He appeared in the miniſtry when a youth; and his labours therein were of good ſavour. He travelled much in that work in America. I once heard him ſay, in public teſtimony, that his concern was (in that viſit) to be devoted to the ſervice of Chriſt ſo fully, that he might not ſpend one minute in pleaſing himſelf: which words, joined with his example, were a means of ſtirring up the pure mind in me.

On this viſit to England I have felt ſome inſtructions ſealed on my mind, which I am concerned to leave in writing, for the uſe of

ſuch

ſuch as are called to the ſtation of a miniſter of Chriſt.

Chriſt being the Prince of Peace, and we being no more than miniſters, I find it neceſſary for us, not only to feel a concern in our firſt going forth, but to experience the renewing thereof, in the appointment of meetings.

I felt a concern, in America, to prepare for this voyage; and being, through the mercy of God, brought ſafe here, my heart was like a veſſel that wanted vent; and for ſeveral weeks, at firſt, when my mouth was opened in meetings, it often felt like the raiſing of a gate in a water courſe, where a weight of water lay upon it; and in theſe labours there appeared a freſh viſitation to many, eſpecially the youth; but ſometimes, after this, I felt empty and poor, and yet felt a neceſſity to appoint meetings.

In this ſtate I was exerciſed to abide in the pure life of truth, and in all my labours to watch diligently againſt the motions of ſelf in my own mind.

I have frequently felt a neceſſity to ſtand up, when the ſpring of the miniſtry was low; and to ſpeak from the neceſſity, in that which ſubjecteth the will of the creature; and herein I was united with the ſuffering ſeed, and found inward ſweetneſs in theſe mortifying labours.

As I have been preſerved in a watchful attention to the divine Leader, under theſe diſpenſations, enlargement at times hath fol-

lowed, and the power of truth hath riſen higher, in ſome meetings, than I ever knew it before through me.

Thus I have been more and more inſtructed, as to the neceſſity of depending, not upon a concern which I felt in America, to come on a viſit to England, but upon the freſh inſtructions of Chriſt, the Prince of peace, from day to day.

Now, of late, I felt a ſtop in the appointment of meetings, not wholly, but in part; and I do not feel liberty to appoint them ſo quick one after another as I have heretofore.

The work of the miniſtry being a work of divine love, I feel that the openings thereof are to be waited for, in all our appointments.

Oh! how deep is divine wiſdom! Chriſt puts forth his miniſters, and goeth before them: and oh! how great is the danger of departing from the pure feeling of that which leadeth ſafely!

Chriſt knoweth the ſtate of the people; and, in the pure feeling of the goſpel-miniſtry, their ſtates are opened to his ſervants.

Chriſt knoweth when the fruit-bearing branches themſelves have need of purging.

Oh! that theſe leſſons may be remembered by me! and that all who appoint meetings may proceed in the pure feeling of duty!

I have ſometimes felt a neceſſity to ſtand up; but that ſpirit which is of the world hath ſo much prevailed in many, and the pure life of truth been ſo preſſed down, that I have gone

forward,

forward, not as one travelling in a road caſt up and well prepared, but as a man walking through a miry place, in which are ſtones, here and there, ſafe to ſtep on, but ſo ſituated, that, one ſtep being taken, time is neceſſary to ſee where to ſtep next.

Now I find that, in the pure obedience, the mind learns contentment, in appearing weak and fooliſh to that wiſdom which is of the world; and, in theſe lowly labours, they who ſtand in a low place, rightly exerciſed under the croſs, will find nouriſhment.

The gift is pure; and, while the eye is ſingle in attending thereto, the underſtanding is preſerved clear: ſelf is kept out. We rejoice in filling up that which remains of the afflictions of Chriſt, for his body's ſake, which is the church.

The natural man loveth eloquence, and many love to hear eloquent orations; and, if there is not a careful attention to the gift, men who have once laboured in the pure goſpel-miniſtry, growing weary of ſuffering, and aſhamed of appearing weak, may kindle a fire, compaſs themſelves about with ſparks, and walk in the light; not of Chriſt who is under ſuffering; but of that fire which they, going from the gift, have kindled; and that in hearers, which is gone from the meek ſuffering ſtate, into the worldly wiſdom, may be warmed with this fire, and ſpeak highly of theſe labours. That which is of God gathers to God; and that which is of the world is owned by the world.

In

In this journey a labour hath attended my mind, that the miniſters amongſt us may be preſerved in the meek feeling life of truth, where we may have no deſire but to follow Chriſt and be with him; that, when he is under ſuffering, we may ſuffer with him, and never deſire to riſe up in dominion, but as he, by the virtue of his own ſpirit, may raiſe us.

A few days after writing theſe conſiderations, our dear friend, in the courſe of his religious viſits, came to the city of York, and attended moſt of the ſittings of the quarterly-meeting there; but, before it was over, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox. Our friend, Thomas Prieſtman, and others who attended him, preſerved the following minutes of his expreſſions in the time of his ſickneſs and of his deceaſe.

1ſt day, the 27th of the 9th month, 1772. His diſorder appeared to be the ſmall-pox.

2d day. He ſaid he felt the diſorder to affect his head, ſo that he could think little, and but as a child.

Third day he uttered the following prayer.—O Lord my God, the amazing horrors of darkneſs were gathered around me and covered me all over, and I ſaw no way to go forth; I felt the depth and extent of the miſery of my fellow-creatures ſeparated from the divine harmony, and it was heavier than I could bear, and I was cruſhed down under it; I lifted up my hand, I ſtretched out my arm, but there

was

was none to help me; I looked round about and was amazed; in the depths of misery, O Lord! I remembered that thou art omnipotent, that I had called thee Father, and I felt that I loved thee, and I was made quiet in thy will, and I waited for deliverance from thee; thou hadst pity upon me when no man could help me; I saw that meekness under suffering was shewed to us in the most affecting example of thy Son, and thou taughest me to follow him, and I said, 'thy will, O Father, be done.'

Fourth day morning, being asked how he felt himself, he meekly answered, I do not know that I have slept this night, I feel the disorder making its progress, but my mind is mercifully preserved in stillness and peace: sometime after he said he was sensible the pains of death must be hard to bear; but, if he escaped them now, he must sometime pass through them, and he did not know that he could be better prepared, but had no will in it. He said he had settled his outward affairs to his mind, had taken leave of his wife and family as never to return; leaving them to the divine protection; adding, and though I feel them near to me at this time, yet I freely give them up, having a hope that they will be provided for. And a little after said, This trial is made easier than I could have thought, my will being wholly taken away; for if I were anxious for the event, it would have been harder; but I am not, and my mind enjoys a perfect calm.

In

In the night a young woman having given him ſomething to drink, he ſaid, My child thou ſeemeſt very kind to me, a poor creature, the Lord will reward thee for it. A while after he cried out with great earneſtneſs of ſpirit, Oh my Father! my Father! and ſoon after he ſaid, Oh my Father! my Father! how comfortable art thou to my ſoul in this trying ſeaſon! Being aſked if he could take a little nouriſhment; after ſome pauſe he replied, my child, I cannot tell what to ſay to it; I ſeem nearly arrived where my ſoul ſhall have reſt from all its troubles. After giving in ſomething to be inſerted in his journal, he ſaid, I believe the Lord will now excuſe me from exerciſes of this kind; and I ſee no work but one, which is to be the laſt wrought by me in this world; the meſſenger will come that will releaſe me from all theſe troubles; but it muſt be in the Lord's time, which I am waiting for. He ſaid he had laboured to do whatever was required, according to the ability received, in the remembrance of which he had peace; and, though the diſorder was ſtrong at times, and would like a whirlwind come over his mind, yet it had hitherto been kept ſteady, and centered in everlaſting love; adding, and if that be mercifully continued, I aſk nor deſire no more. Another time he ſaid, he had long had a view of viſiting this nation, and, ſometime before he came, had a dream, in which he ſaw himſelf in the northern parts of it, and that the ſpring of the goſpel was opened in him much as in the beginning

of friends, ſuch as George Fox and William Dewſberry, and he ſaw the different ſtates of the people, as clear as he had ever ſeen flowers in a garden; but in his going along he was ſuddenly ſtopt, though he could not ſee for what end; but, looking towards home, fell into a flood of tears which waked him.

At another time he ſaid, my draught ſeemed ſtrongeſt towards the North, and I mentioned, in my own monthly-meeting, that attending the quarterly-meeting at York, and being there, looked like home to me.

Fifth-day night, having repeatedly conſented to take medicine with a view to ſettle his ſtomach, but without effect, the friend, then waiting on him, ſaid, through diſtreſs, what ſhall I do now? He anſwered with great compoſure, Rejoice evermore, and in every thing give thanks; but added a little after, this is ſometimes hard to come at.

Sixth-day morning, he broke forth early in ſupplication on this wiſe: O Lord, it was thy power that enabled me to forſake ſin in my youth, and I have felt thy bruiſes for diſobedience; but, as I bowed under them, thou didſt heal me, continuing a father and a friend: I feel thy power now, and I beg that, in the approaching trying moment, thou wilt keep my heart ſtedfaſt unto thee. —— Upon his giving directions to a friend concerning ſome little things, ſhe ſaid, I will take care, but hope thou wilt live to order them thyſelf. He replied, My hope is in Chriſt; and, though I may ſeem a little better, a change in the diſ-

order

order may ſoon happen, and my little ſtrength be diſſolved; and, if it ſo happens, I ſhall be gathered to my everlaſting reſt. On her ſaying ſhe did not doubt that, but could not help mourning to ſee ſo many faithful ſervants removed at ſo low a time, he ſaid, All good cometh from the Lord, whoſe power is the ſame, and can work as he ſees beſt. The ſame day he had given directions about wrapping his corpſe: perceiving a friend to weep, he ſaid, I would rather thou wouldſt guard againſt weeping for me, my ſiſter; I ſorrow not, though I have had ſome painful conflicts: but now they ſeem over, and matters well ſettled; and I look at the face of my dear Redeemer; for ſweet is his voice, and his countenance is comely.

First-day, fourth of the tenth month, being very weak, and in general difficult to be underſtood, he uttered a few words in commemoration of the Lord's goodneſs, and added, How tenderly have I been waited on in this time of affliction! in which I may ſay, in Job's words, Tedious days and weariſome nights are appointed unto me: and how many are ſpending their time and money in vanity and ſuperfluities, while thouſands and tens of thouſands want the neceſſaries of life, who might be relieved by them, and their diſtreſſes, at ſuch a time as this, in ſome degree ſoftened, by the adminiſtering ſuitable things!

Second-day morning, the apothecary, who appeared very anxious to aſſiſt him, being preſent, he queried about the probability of

ſuch

ſuch a load of matter being thrown off his weak body; and, the apothecary making ſome remarks implying he thought it might, he ſpoke with an audible voice on this wiſe: — My dependence is on the Lord Jeſus, who, I truſt, will forgive my ſins, which is all I hope for; and, if it be his will to raiſe up this body again, I am content; and, if to die, I am reſigned; and, if thou canſt not be eaſy without trying to aſſiſt nature, I ſubmit. After which his throat was ſo much affected, that it was very difficult for him to ſpeak ſo as to be underſtood; and he frequently wrote when he wanted any thing. About the ſecond hour, on fourth-day morning, he aſked for pen and ink, and, at ſeveral times, with much difficulty, wrote thus: I believe my being here is in the wiſdom of Chriſt; I know not as to life or death.

About a quarter before ſix, the ſame morning, he ſeemed to fall into an eaſy ſleep, which continued about half an hour; when, ſeeming to awake, he breathed a few times with more difficulty, and expired, without ſigh, groan, or ſtruggle!

END OF THE JOURNAL.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN WOOLMAN.

PART the SECOND.

Containing his LAST EPISTLE and other WRITINGS.

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M.DCC.LXXV.

INTRODUCTION

CONSIDERATIONS

ON

PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY;

ON

LABOUR;

ON

SCHOOLS;

And on the RIGHT USE of the

LORD's OUTWARD GIFTS.

First printed in the year 1768.

JAMES iii. 17.

The wisdom, that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy.

INTRODUCTION.

MY mind hath often been affected with sorrow, on account of the prevailing of that spirit, which leads from an humble waiting on the inward teaching of Christ, to pursue ways of living, attended with unnecessary labour, and which draws forth the minds of many peo-

ple to seek after outward power, and to strive for riches, which frequently introduce oppreſſion, and bring forth wars and grievous calamities.

It is with reverence that I acknowledge the mercies of our heavenly Father, who, in infinite love, did viſit me in my youth, and wrought a belief in me, that through true obedience a ſtate of inward purity may be known in this life, in which we may love mankind in the ſame love with which our Redeemer loveth us, and therein learn reſignation to endure hardſhips for the real good of others.

"While the eye is ſingle, the whole body is "full of light," Mat. vi. 22. *but, for want of this, ſelfiſh deſires, and an imaginary ſuperiority, darken the mind; hence injuſtice frequently proceeds; and, where this is the caſe, to convince the judgement is the moſt effectual remedy.*

Where violent meaſures are purſued in oppoſing injuſtice, the paſſions and reſentments of the injured frequently operate in the proſecution of their deſigns; and, after conflicts productive of very great calamities, the minds of contending parties often remain as little acquainted with the pure principle of divine love, as they were before; but where people walk in that pure light in which all their "works are wrought "in God," John iii. 21, *and under oppreſſion perſevere in the meek ſpirit, and abide firm in the cauſe of truth, without actively complying with oppreſſive demands, through theſe the Lord hath often manifeſted his power, in opening the underſtandings of others, to the promoting righteouſneſs in the earth.*

A time,

A time, I believe, is coming, wherein this divine work will ſo ſpread and prevail, that "Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation, "nor learn war any more," Iſaiah ii. 4. *And as we, through the tender mercies of God, do feel that this precious work is begun, I am concerned to encourage my brethren and ſiſters in a holy care and diligence, that each of us may ſo live, under the ſanctifying power of truth, as to be redeemed from all unneceſſary cares; that our eye being ſingle to him, no cuſtoms, however prevalent, which are contrary to the wiſdom from above, may hinder us from faithfully following his holy leadings, in whatſoever he may graciouſly appoint for us.*

CONSIDERATIONS ON PURE WISDOM AND HUMAN POLICY.

TO have our truſt ſettled in the Lord, and not to ſeek after nor deſire outward treaſures, any farther than his Holy Spirit leads us therein, is a happy ſtate; as ſaith the prophet, "Bleſſed is the man that "truſteth in the Lord, and whoſe hope the "Lord is."

Pure wiſdom leads people into lowlineſs of mind, in which they learn reſignation to the divine will, and contentment in ſuffering for his cauſe, when they cannot keep a clear conſcience without ſuffering.

In this pure wiſdom the mind is attentive to the root and original ſpring of motions and deſires; and, as we know "the Lord to be our "refuge," and find no ſafety but in humbly walking before him, we feel a holy engagement, that every deſire which leads therefrom may be brought to judgement.

While we proceed in this precious way, and find ardent longings for a full deliverance from

from every thing which defiles, all proſpects of gain, that are not conſiſtent with the wiſdom from above, are conſidered as ſnares; and an inward concern is felt, that we may live under the croſs, and faithfully attend to that holy ſpirit which is ſufficient to preſerve out of them.

When I have conſidered that ſaying of Chriſt, Matt. vi. 19, "Lay not up for yourſelves "treaſures upon earth," his omnipotence hath often occurred to my mind.

While we believe that he is every where preſent with his people, and that perfect goodneſs, wiſdom, and power, are united in him, how comfortable is the conſideration!

Our wants may be great, but his power is greater. We may be oppreſſed and deſpiſed, but he is able to turn our patient ſufferings into profit to ourſelves, and to the advancement of his work on earth. His people, who feel the power of his croſs, to crucify all that is ſelfiſh in them, who are engaged in outward concerns, from a convincement that it is their duty, and reſign themſelves, and their treaſures, to him; theſe feel that it is dangerous to give way to that in us, which craves riches and greatneſs in this world.

As the heart, truly contrite, earneſtly deſires "to know Chriſt, and the fellowſhip "of his ſufferings," Phil. iii. 10. ſo far as the Lord for gracious ends may lead into them; as ſuch feel that it is their intereſt to put their truſt in God, and to ſeek no gain

but that which he, by his Holy Spirit, leads into; ſo, on the contrary, they who do not reverently wait for this divine teacher, and are not humbly concerned, according to their meaſure, "to fill up that which is behind of "the afflictions of Chriſt," Col. i. 24, in patiently ſuffering for the promoting righteouſneſs in the earth, but have an eye toward the power of men, and the outward advantage of wealth, theſe are often attentive to thoſe employments which appear profitable, even though the gains ariſe from ſuch a trade and buſineſs which proceed from the workings of that ſpirit, which is eſtranged from the ſelf-denying life of an humble contrite chriſtian.

While I write on this ſubject, I feel my mind tenderly affected toward thoſe honeſtly-diſpoſed people, who have been brought up in employments attended with thoſe difficulties.

To ſuch I may ſay, in the feeling of our heavenly Father's love, and number myſelf with them, Oh! that our eyes may be ſingle to the Lord! may we reverently wait on him for ſtrength, to lay aſide all unneceſſary expence of every kind, and learn contentment in a plain ſimple life.

May we, in lowlineſs, ſubmit to the leadings of his ſpirit, and enter upon any outward employ which he graciouſly points out to us, and then whatever difficulties ariſe, in conſequence of our faithfulneſs, I truſt they will work for our good.

Small

Small treaſure to a reſigned mind is ſufficient. How happy is it to be content with a little, to live in humility, and feel that in us, which breathes out this language, Abba! Father!

If that, called the wiſdom of this world, had no reſemblance of true wiſdom, the name of wiſdom, I ſuppoſe, had not been given to it.

As waſting outward ſubſtance, to gratify vain deſires, on one hand; ſo ſlothfulneſs and neglect, on the other, do often involve men and their families in trouble, and reduce them to want and diſtreſs; to ſhun both theſe oppoſite vices is good in itſelf, and hath a reſemblance of wiſdom; but while people, thus provident, have it principally in view to get riches and power, and the friendſhip of this world, and do not humbly wait for the ſpirit of truth to lead them in purity; theſe, through an anxious care to obtain the end deſired, reach forth for gain in worldly wiſdom, and, in regard to their inward ſtate, fall into divers temptations and ſnares. And though ſuch may think of applying wealth to good purpoſes, and to uſe their power to prevent oppreſſion, yet wealth and power are often applied otherwiſe; nor can we depart from the leadings of our holy ſhepherd, without going into confuſion.

Great wealth is frequently attended with power, which nothing but divine love can qualify the mind to uſe rightly; and, as to the humility and uprightneſs of our children

dren after us, how great is the uncertainty! If, in acquiring wealth, we take hold on the wiſdom which is from beneath, and depart from the leadings of truth, and example our children herein, we have great cauſe to apprehend that wealth may be a ſnare to them, and prove an injury to others, over whom their wealth may give them power.

To be redeemed from that wiſdom which is from beneath, and walk in the light of the Lord, is a precious ſituation: thus his people are brought to put their truſt in him; and, in this humble confidence in his wiſdom, goodneſs, and power, the righteous find a refuge in adverſities, ſuperior to greateſt outward helps, and a comfort more certain than any worldly advantages can afford.

ON LABOUR.

HAVING, from my childhood, been uſed to bodily labour for a living, I may expreſs my experience therein.

Right exerciſe affords an innocent pleaſure in the time of it, and prepares us to enjoy the ſweetneſs of reſt; but, from the extremes each way, ariſe inconveniences.

Moderate exerciſe opens the pores, gives the blood a lively circulation, and the better enables us to judge rightly reſpecting that portion of labour which is the true medium.

" The

" The fowls of the air ſow not, nor gather " into barns, yet our heavenly Father feed- " eth them," Matt. vi. 26 ; nor do I believe that infinite goodneſs and power would have allotted labour to us, had he not ſeen that labour was proper for us in this life.

The original deſign and true medium of labour are ſubjects that, to me, appear worthy of our ſerious conſideration.

Idle men are often a burden to themſelves, neglect the duty they owe to their families, and become burthenſome to others alſo.

As outward labour tends to our health, and adds to our happineſs in this life, ſo, on the contrary, entering upon it in a ſelfiſh ſpirit, and purſuing it too long or too hard, have a contrary effect.

I have obſerved, that too much labour not only makes the underſtanding dull, but ſo intrudes upon the harmony of the body, that, after ceaſing from our toil, we have another to paſs through, before we can be ſo compoſed as to enjoy the ſweetneſs of reſt.

From too much labour in the heat frequently proceed immoderate ſweats; which do often, I believe, open the way for diſorders, and impair our conſtitutions.

When we go beyond the true medium, and feel wearineſs approaching, but think buſineſs may ſuffer if we ceaſe, at ſuch a time ſpirituous liquors are frequently taken, with a view to ſupport nature under theſe fatigues.

I have

I have found that too much labour, in the ſummer, heats the blood; that taking ſtrong drink, to ſupport the body under ſuch labour, increaſeth that heat; and that, though a perſon may be ſo far temperate as not to manifeſt the leaſt diſorder, yet the mind, in ſuch a circumſtance, doth not retain that calmneſs and ſerenity which we ſhould endeavour to live in.

Thus toiling in the heat, and drinking ſtrong liquor, make men more reſolute and leſs conſiderate, and tend very much to diſqualify from ſucceſsfully following him who is meek and low of heart.

As laying out buſineſs, more than is conſiſtent with pure wiſdom, is an evil, ſo this evil frequently leads into more. Too much buſineſs leads to hurry. In the hurry and toil too much ſtrong drink is often uſed; and hereby many proceed to noiſe and wantonneſs, and ſome, though more conſiderate, do often ſuffer loſs, as to a true compoſedneſs of mind.

I feel ſincere deſires in my heart, that no rent, nor intereſt, might be laid ſo high as to be a ſnare to tenants: that no deſires of gain may draw any too far in buſineſs: that no cares, to ſupport cuſtoms which have not their foundation in pure wiſdom, may have place in our minds; but that we may build on the ſure Foundation, and feel our holy Shepherd to lead us, who alone is able to preſerve us, and bring forth from every thing which defiles.

Having

Having ſeveral times, in my travels, had opportunity to obſerve the labour and manner of life of great numbers of ſlaves, it appears to me that the true medium is lamentably neglected by many who aſſign them their portion of labour.

Without ſaying much, at this time, concerning buying and ſelling men, for term of life, who have as juſt a right to liberty as we have; nor about the great miſeries and effuſion of blood, conſequent on promoting the ſlave-trade; and to ſpeak as favourably as may be, with regard to continuing thoſe in bondage who are amongſt us, — we cannot ſay there is no partiality in it; for, whatever tenderneſs may be manifeſted by individuals, in their life-time, toward them, yet for people to be tranſmitted, from a man to his poſterity, in the helpleſs condition of ſlaves, appears inconſiſtent with the nature of the goſpel-ſpirit. From ſuch proceedings it often follows, that perſons in the decline of life are deprived of monies equitably due to them, and committed to the care, and ſubjected to the abſolute power, of young unexperienced men, who know but little about the weakneſs of old age, nor underſtand the language of declining life.

Where parents give their eſtates to their children, and then depend on them for a maintenance, they ſometimes meet with great inconveniences; but, if the power of poſſeſſion, thus obtained, doth often reverſe the obligations of gratitude and filial duty, and

makes

makes manifeſt, that youth are often ignorant of the language of old age, how hard is the caſe of antient Negroes, who, deprived of the wages equitably due to them, are left to young people, who have been uſed to look upon them as their inferiors!

For men to behold the fruits of their labour withheld from them, and poſſeſſed by others, and in old age find themſelves deſtitute of thoſe comfortable accommodations, and that tender regard which their time of life requires:

When they feel pains, and ſtiffneſs in their joints and limbs, weakneſs of appetite, and that a little labour is wearifome, and ſtill behold themſelves in the neglected uncomfortable condition of a ſlave, and oftentimes to a young unſympathiſing man:

For men to be thus treated from one generation to another, who, beſides their own diſtreſſes, think on the ſlavery entailed on their poſterity, and are grieved, what diſagreeable thoughts muſt they have of the profeſſed followers of Jeſus! and how muſt their groans aſcend to that almighty Being, who "will be a refuge for the oppreſſed!" Pſalm ix. 9.

On SCHOOLS.

Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Mark x. 14.

TO encourage children to do things with a view to get praise of men to me appears an obstruction to their being inwardly acquainted with the spirit of truth. For it is the work of the Holy Spirit to direct the mind to God, that in all our proceedings we may have a single eye to him. To give alms in secret, to fast in secret, and labour to keep clear of that disposition reproved by our Saviour, "But all their works they do "for to be seen of men," Matt. xxiii. 5.

That divine light which enlightens all men, I believe, does often shine in the minds of children very early, and to humbly wait for wisdom, that our conduct toward them may tend to forward their acquaintance with it, and strengthen them in obedience thereto, appears to me to be a duty on all.

By cherishing the spirit of pride, and the love of praise in them, I believe they may sometimes improve faster in learning, than otherwise they would; but to take measures to forward children in learning, which naturally tend to divert their minds from true humility, appears to me to savour of the wisdom of this world.

If

If tutors are not acquainted with ſanctification of ſpirit, nor experienced in an humble waiting for the leadings of truth, but follow the maxims of the wiſdom of this world, ſuch children, as are under their tuition, appear to me to be in danger of imbibing thoughts and apprehenſions reverſe to that meekneſs and lowlineſs of heart which are neceſſary for all the true followers of Chriſt.

Children, at an age fit for ſchools, are in a time of life which requires the patient attention of pious people; and, if we commit them to the tuition of ſuch, whoſe minds we believe are not rightly prepared to "train them "up in the nurture and admonition of the "Lord," we are in danger of not acting the part of faithful parents toward them; for our heavenly Father doth not require us to do evil that good may come of it; and it is needful that we deeply examine ourſelves, leſt we get entangled in the wiſdom of this world, and, through wrong apprehenſions, take ſuch methods, in education, as may prove a great injury to the minds of our children.

It is a lovely ſight to behold innocent children! and when they are ſent to ſuch ſchools where their tender minds are in imminent danger of being led aſtray by tutors who do not live a ſelf-denying life, or by the converſation of ſuch children as do not live in innocence, it is a caſe much to be lamented.

While

While a pious tutor hath the charge of no more children than he can take due care of, and keeps his authority in the truth, the good ſpirit, in which he leads and governs, works on the minds of ſuch as are not hardened, and his labours not only tend to bring them forward in outward learning, but to open their underſtandings with reſpect to the true Chriſtian life: but, where a perſon hath charge of too many, and his thoughts and time are ſo much employed, in the outward affairs of his ſchool, that he does not ſo weightily attend to the ſpirit and conduct of each individual as to be enabled to adminiſter rightly to all, in due ſeaſon; through ſuch omiſſion, he not only ſuffers, as to the ſtate of his own mind, but the minds of the children are in danger of ſuffering alſo.

To watch the ſpirit of children, to nurture them in goſpel love, and to labour to help them againſt that which would mar the beauty of their minds, is a debt we owe them; and a faithful performance of our duty not only tends to their laſting benefit and our own peace, but alſo to render their company agreeable to us.

Inſtruction, thus adminiſtered, reaches the pure witneſs in the minds of ſuch children as are not hardened, and begets love in them toward thoſe who thus lead them on: but, where too great a number is committed to a tutor, and he, through much cumber, omits a careful attention to the minds of children, there is danger of diſorders gradually

increaſing amongſt them, till the effects thereof appear in their conduct, too ſtrong to be eaſily remedied.

A care hath lived on my mind, that more time might be employed by parents, at home, and by tutors, at ſchool, in weightily attending to the ſpirit and inclinations of children, and that we may ſo lead, inſtruct, and govern, them, in this tender part of life, that nothing may be omitted, in our power, to help them on their way to become the children of our Father, who is in heaven.

Meditating on the ſituation of ſchools, in our provinces, my mind hath, at times, been affected with ſorrow; and, under theſe exerciſes, it hath appeared to me, that, if thoſe, who have large eſtates, were faithful ſtewards, and laid no rent, nor intereſt, nor other demand, higher than is conſiſtent with univerſal love; and if thoſe, in lower circumſtances, would, under a moderate employ, ſhun unneceſſary expence, even to the ſmalleſt article, and all unite in humbly ſeeking to the Lord, he would graciouſly inſtruct us and ſtrengthen us to relieve the youth from various ſnares, in which many of them are entangled.

On the RIGHT USE of the LORD's OUTWARD GIFTS.

AS our underſtandings are opened by the pure light, we experience that, through an inward approaching to God, the mind is ſtrengthened in obedience; and that, by gratifying thoſe deſires which are not of his begetting, thoſe approaches to him are obſtructed, and the deceivable ſpirit gains ſtrength.

Theſe truths being as it were engraven upon our hearts, and our everlaſting intereſt in Chriſt evidently concerned herein, we become fervently engaged, that nothing may be nouriſhed which tends to feed pride or ſelf-love in us. Thus, in pure obedience, we are not only inſtructed in our duty to God, but alſo in the affairs which neceſſarily relate to this life, and the ſpirit of truth, which guides into all truth, leavens the mind with a pious concern, that "whatſoever we do, in "word or deed, may be done in his name." Col. iii. 17.

Hence ſuch buildings, furniture, food, and raiment, as beſt anſwer our neceſſities, and are the leaſt likely to feed that ſelfiſh ſpirit which is our enemy, are the moſt acceptable to us.

In this ſtate the mind is tender, and inwardly watchful, that the love of gain draw us not into any buſineſs, which may weaken our love to our heavenly Father, or bring unneceſſary trouble to any of his creatures.

Thus the way gradually opens to ceaſe from that ſpirit, which craves riches and things fetched far, which ſo mixeth with the cuſtoms of this world, and ſo intrudes upon the true harmony of life, that the right medium of labour is very much departed from. And, as the minds of people are ſettled in a ſteady concern not to hold nor poſſeſs any thing but what may be held conſiſtent with the wiſdom from above, they conſider what they poſſeſs as the gift of God, and are inwardly exerciſed, that in all parts of their conduct they may act agreably to the nature of the peaceable government of Chriſt.

A little ſupports ſuch a life; and, in a ſtate truly reſigned to the Lord, the eye is ſingle, to ſee what outward employ he leads into, as a means of our ſubſiſtence, and a lively care is maintained to hold to that without launching farther.

There is a harmony in the ſeveral parts of this divine work in the hearts of people; he, who leads them to ceaſe from thoſe gainful employments, carried on in that wiſdom which is from beneath, delivers alſo from the deſire after worldly greatneſs, and reconciles the mind to a life ſo plain, that a little doth ſuffice.

Here the real comforts of life are not leſſened. Moderate exerciſe, in the way of true wiſdom, is pleaſant both to mind and body.

Food and raiment ſufficient, though in the greateſt ſimplicity, is accepted with content and gratitude.

The

The mutual love, ſubſiſting between the faithful followers of Chriſt, is more pure than that friendſhip which is not ſeaſoned with humility, how ſpecious ſoever the appearance.

Where people depart from pure wiſdom in one caſe, it is often an introduction to depart from it in many more; and thus a ſpirit which ſeeks for outward greatneſs, and leads into worldly wiſdom to attain it and ſupport it, gets poſſeſſion of the mind.

In beholding the cuſtomary departure from the true medium of labour, and that unneceſſary toil which many go through, in ſupporting outward greatneſs, and procuring delicacies:

In beholding how the true calmneſs of life is changed into hurry, and that many, by eagerly purſuing outward treaſure, are in great danger of withering as to the inward ſtate of the mind:

In meditating on the works of this ſpirit, and on the deſolations it makes amongſt the profeſſors of chriſtianity: I may thankfully acknowledge, that I often feel pure love beget longings in my heart, for the exaltation of the peaceable kingdom of Chriſt, and an engagement to labour according to the gift beſtowed on me, for the promoting an humble, plain, temperate, way of living: a life, where no unneceſſary cares nor expences may encumber our minds, nor leſſen our ability to do good; where no deſires after riches, or greatneſs, may lead into hard deal-

ing; where no connections with worldly-minded men may abate our love to God, nor weaken a true zeal for righteouſneſs: a life, wherein we may diligently labour for reſignedneſs to do, and ſuffer, whatever our heavenly Father may allot for us, in reconciling the world to himſelf.

When the prophet Iſaiah had uttered his viſion, and declared that a time was coming wherein "ſwords ſhould be beat into plough-"ſhares, and ſpears into pruning-hooks, and "that nation ſhould not lift up ſword againſt "nation, nor learn war any more;" he immediately directs the minds of people to the divine Teacher in this remarkable language, "O houſe of Jacob, come ye and let us walk "in the light of the Lord." Iſaiah ii. 5.

To wait for the direction of this Light, in all temporal as well as ſpiritual concerns, appears neceſſary; for if in any caſe we enter lightly into temporal affairs, without feeling this ſpirit of truth to open our way therein, and through the love of this world proceed on, and ſeek for gain by that buſineſs, or traffic, which "is not of the Father, but of "the world," 1 John ii. 16, we fail in our teſtimony to the purity and peace of his government, and get into that which is for chaſtiſement.

This matter hath lain heavy on my mind, it being evident, that a life leſs humble, leſs ſimple and plain, than that which Chriſt leads his ſheep into, does neceſſarily require a ſupport, which pure wiſdom does not pro-

vide

vide for; hence there is no probability of our being "a peculiar people, ſo zealous of good "works, as to have no fellowſhip with works "of darkneſs," Titus ii. 14. Epheſ. v. 11. while we have wants to ſupply which have their foundation in cuſtom, and do not come within the meaning of thoſe expreſſions, "your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have "need of all theſe things." Matt. vi. 32.

Theſe things which he beholds neceſſary for his people, he fails not to give them in his own way and time; but as his ways are above our ways, and his thoughts above our thoughts, ſo imaginary wants are different "from theſe things which he knoweth that "we have need of."

As my meditations have been on theſe things, compaſſion hath filled my heart toward my fellow-creatures, involved in cuſtoms, grown up in "the wiſdom of this "world, which is fooliſhneſs with God," 1 Cor. iii. 19; and O that the youth may be ſo thoroughly experienced in an humble walking before the Lord, that they may be his children, and know him to be their refuge, their ſafe unfailing refuge! through the various dangers attending this uncertain ſtate of being.

If thoſe whoſe minds are redeemed from the love of wealth, and who are content with a plain, ſimple, way of living, do yet find that to conduct the affairs of a family, without giving countenance to unrighteous proceed-

ings, or having fellowſhip with works of darkneſs, the moſt diligent care is neceſſary:

If cuſtoms, diſtinguiſhable from univerſal righteouſneſs, and oppoſite to the true ſelf-denying life, are now prevalent, and ſo mixed with trade, and with almoſt every employ, that it is only through humble waiting on the inward guidance of truth, that we may reaſonably hope to walk ſafely, and ſupport an uniform teſtimony to the peaceable government of Chriſt;

If this be the caſe, how lamentably do they expoſe themſelves to temptations, who give way to the love of riches, conform to expenſive living, and reach forth for gain, to ſupport cuſtoms, which our holy Shepherd leads not into.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

TRUE HARMONY

OF

MANKIND;

AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

First printed in the year 1770.

MICAH V. 7.

And the remnant of Jacob ſhall be in the midſt of many people as a dew from the Lord, as the ſhowers upon the graſs, that tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the ſons of men.

INTRODUCTION.

AS mankind from one parent are divided into many families, and as trading to ſea is greatly increaſed within a few ages paſt; amidſt this

this extended commerce, how neceſſary is it that the profeſſed followers of Chriſt keep ſacred his holy name, and be employed about trade and traffic no farther than juſtice and equity evidently accompany! that we may give no juſt cauſe of offence to any, however diſtant or unable to plead their own cauſe; and may cantinually keep in view the ſpreading of the true and ſaving knowledge of God, and his ſon Jeſus Chriſt, amongſt our fellow-creatures, which, through his infinite love, ſome feel to be more precious than any other treaſure.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS
ON THE
TRUE HARMONY
OF
MANKIND;
AND HOW IT IS TO BE MAINTAINED.

CHAP. I.

On ſerving the Lord in our outward employments.

UNDER the humbling diſpenſations of the Father of mercies, I have felt an inward labour for the good of my fellow-creatures, and a concern that the holy Spirit, which alone can reſtore mankind to a ſtate of true harmony, may with ſingleneſs of heart be waited for and followed.

I truſt there are many under that viſitation, which, if faithfully attended to, will make them quick of underſtanding in the fear of the Lord, and qualify with firmneſs to be true patterns of the chriſtian life, who in living and walking may hold forth an invitation to others, to come out of the entanglements of the ſpirit of this world.

And

And that which I feel firſt to expreſs is a care for thoſe who are in circumſtances which appear difficult, with reſpect to ſupporting their families in a way anſwerable to pure wiſdom, that they may not be diſcouraged, but remember that, in humbly obeying the leading of Chriſt, he owneth us as his friends; "Ye are my friends if ye do whatſoever I "command you;" and to be a friend to Chriſt is to be united to him who hath all power in heaven and in earth; and, though a woman may forget her ſucking child, yet will he not forget his faithful ones.

The condition of many who dwell in cities hath often affected me with a brotherly ſympathy, attended with a deſire that reſignation may be laboured for; and, where the holy Leader directeth to a country-life, or ſome change of employ, he may be faithfully followed; for, under the refining hand of the Lord, I have ſeen that the inhabitants of ſome cities are greatly increaſed, through ſome branches of buſineſs which his holy Spirit doth not lead into; and that being entangled in theſe things tends to bring a cloud over the minds of people convinced of the leadings of this holy Leader, and obſtructs the coming of the kingdom of Chriſt on earth as it is in heaven.

Now, if we indulge a deſire to imitate our neighbours in thoſe things which harmonize not with the true Chriſtian walking, theſe entanglements may hold faſt to us, and ſome,

who,

who, in an awakening time, feel tender ſcruples, with reſpect to their manner of life, may look on the example of others more noted in the church, who yet may not be refined from every degree of droſs; and, by looking on theſe examples, and deſiring to ſupport their families in a way pleaſant to the natural mind, there may be danger of the worldly wiſdom gaining ſtrength in them, and of their departure from that pure feeling of truth, which, if faithfully attended to, would teach contentment in the divine will, even in a very low eſtate.

One, formerly ſpeaking on the profitableneſs of true humility, ſaith: "He that troubles not himſelf with anxious thoughts for more than is neceſſary lives little leſs than the life of angels, whilſt, by a mind content with little, he imitates their want of nothing." Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity, page 31.

"It is not enough, ſays Tertullian, that a Chriſtian be chaſte and modeſt; but he muſt appear to be ſo: a virtue, of which he ſhould have ſo great a ſtore, that it ſhould flow from his mind upon his habit, and break from the retirements of his conſcience into the ſuperficies of his life." Same book, page 43.

"The garments we wear, ſays Clemens, ought to be mean and frugal: that is true ſimplicity of habit which takes away what is vain and ſuperfluous; that the beſt and moſt ſolid garment which is the fartheſt from curioſity." Page 49.

Though

Though the change from day to night is by a motion ſo gradual as ſcarcely to be perceived, yet when night is come we behold it very different from the day; and thus, as people become wiſe in their own eyes and prudent in their own ſight, cuſtoms riſe up from the ſpirit of this world, and ſpread by little and little, till a departure from the ſimplicity that there is in Chriſt becomes as diſtinguiſhable as light from darkneſs to ſuch as are crucified to the world.

Our holy Shepherd, to encourage his flock in firmneſs and perſeverance, reminds them of his love for them, "As the Father hath "loved me, ſo have I loved you; continue ye "in my love;" and in another place graciouſly points out the danger of departing therefrom, by going into unſuitable employments; this he repreſents in the ſimilitude of offence from that uſeful active member, the hand; and, to fix the inſtruction the deeper, names the right hand, "If thy right hand offend "thee, cut it off and caſt it from thee"—If thou feeleſt offence in thy employment, humbly follow him who leads into all truth, and is a ſtrong and faithful friend to thoſe who are reſigned to him.

Again, he points out thoſe things which, appearing pleaſant to the natural mind, are not beſt for us, in the ſimilitude of offence from the eye, "If thy right eye offend thee, "pluck it out and caſt it from thee." To pluck out the eye, or cut off the hand, is attended with ſharp pain; and how precious is

the

the inſtruction which our Redeemer thus opens to us! that we may not faint under the moſt painful trials, but put our truſt in him, even in him who ſent an angel to feed Elijah in the wilderneſs! who fed a multitude with a few barley loaves, and is now as attentive to the wants of his people as ever!

The prophet Iſaiah repreſents the unrighteous doings of the Iſraelites toward the poor as the fruits of an effeminate life, "As for my "people, children are their oppreſſors, and "women rule over them; what mean ye "that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind "the faces of the poor? ſaith the Lord God." Then he mentions the haughtineſs of the daughters of Sion, and enumerates many ornaments, as inſtances of their vanity, to uphold which the poor were ſo hardly dealt with, that he ſets forth their poverty, their leanneſs, and inability to help themſelves, in the ſimilitude of a man maimed by violence or "beaten "to pieces," and forced to endure the painful operation of having his face gradually worn away in the manner of grinding.

And I may here add, that, at times, when I have felt true love open my heart towards my fellow-creatures, and been engaged in weighty converſation in the cauſe of righteouſneſs, the inſtructions I have received, under theſe exerciſes, in regard to the true uſe of the outward gifts of God, have made deep and laſting impreſſions on my mind.

I have

I have here beheld, how the desire to provide wealth, and to uphold a delicate life hath grievously entangled many, and been like snares to their offspring; and though some have been affected with a sense of their difficulties, and appeared desirous, at times, to be helped out of them; yet, for want of abiding under the humbling power of truth, they have continued in these entanglements; for in remaining conformable to this world, and giving way to a delicate life, this expensive way of living, in parents and in children, hath called for a large supply, and in answering this call "the faces of the poor" have been ground away, and made thin through hard dealing.

There is balm, there is a physician! and O what longings do I feel! that we may embrace the means appointed for our healing, and know that removed which ministers now cause, for the cries of many people, to ascend to heaven against their oppressors, and that we may see the true harmony restored!

Behold "how good and how pleasant it is "for brethren to dwell together in unity!" The nature of this unity is thus opened by the apostle; "If we walk in the light, as "Christ is in the light, we shall have fellow-"ship one with another, and the blood of "Christ will cleanse us from all sin."

The land may be polluted with innocent blood, which like the blood of Abel may cry to the Almighty; but those who "walk in "the light as Christ is in the light," they

know

know the "Lamb of God, who taketh away "sin."

Walking is a phraſe frequently uſed, in ſcripture, to repreſent our journey through life, and appears to comprehend the various affairs and tranſactions properly relating to our being in this world.

Chriſt, being the light, dwells always in the light; and if our walking be thus, and in every affair and concern we faithfully follow this divine Leader, he preſerves from giving juſt cauſe for any to quarrel with us; and, where this foundation is laid, and mutually kept to, by families converſant with each other, the way is open for theſe comforts in ſociety, which our heavenly Father intends as a part of our happineſs in this world; and then we may experience the goodneſs and pleaſantneſs of dwelling together in unity; but, where ways of living take place, which tend to oppreſſion, and, in the purſuit of wealth, people do that to others which they know would not be acceptable to themſelves, either in exerciſing an abſolute power over them, or otherwiſe laying on them unequitable burdens; here a fear, leſt that meaſure ſhould be meted to them which they have meaſured to others, incites a care to ſupport that by craft and cunning devices which ſtands not on the firm foundation of righteouſneſs: thus the harmony of ſociety is broken, and from hence commotions and wars do frequently ariſe in the world.

"Come out of Babylon, my people, that "ye be not partakers of her ſins, and that ye "receive not of her plagues." Rev. xv. 3, 4. This Babel, or Babylon, was built in the ſpirit of ſelf-exaltation: "Let us build us a "city and a tower, whoſe top may reach to "heaven, and let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. In departing from an humble truſt in God, and following a ſelfiſh ſpirit, people have intentions to get the upper-hand of their fellow-creatures, privately meditate on means to obtain their ends, and have a language in their hearts which is hard to underſtand. In Babel the language is confounded.

This city is repreſented as a place of buſineſs, and thoſe employed in it as merchants of the earth: "The merchants of the earth "are waxed rich through the abundance of "her delicacies." Rev. xviii. 3.

And it is remarkable, in this call, that the language from the Father of mercies is, My people, "Come out of Babylon, my people!" Thus his tender mercies are toward us in an imperfect ſtate; and, as we faithfully attend to the call, the path of righteouſneſs is more and more opened; cravings, which have not their foundation in pure wiſdom, more and more ceaſe; and, in an inward purity of heart, we experience a reſtoration of that which was loſt at Babel, repreſented by the inſpired prophet in the "returning of a pure "language." Zeph. iii. 9.

Happy for them who humbly attend to the call, "Come out of Babylon, my people."

For

For though in going forth we may meet with trials, which for a time may be painful, yet, as we bow in true humility, and continue in it, an evidence is felt that God only is wiſe; and that, in weaning us from all that is ſelfiſh, he prepares the way to a quiet habitation where all our deſires are bounded by his wiſdom. And an exerciſe of ſpirit attends me, that we, who are convinced of the pure leadings of truth, may bow in the deepeſt reverence, and ſo watchfully regard this leader, that many, who are grievouſly entangled in a wilderneſs of vain cuſtoms, may look upon us, and be inſtructed. And Oh! that ſuch, as have plenty of this world's goods, may be faithful in that with which they are entruſted! and example others in the true Chriſtian walking.

Our bleſſed Saviour, ſpeaking on worldly greatneſs, compares himſelf to one waiting and attending on a company at dinner: "Whether is greater, he that ſitteth at meat "or he that ſerveth? Is not he that ſitteth "at meat? but I am amongſt you as he that "ſerveth." Luke xxii. 27.

Thus, in a world greatly diſordered, where men aſpiring to outward greatneſs were wont to oppreſs others to ſupport their deſigns, he, who was of the higheſt deſcent, being the Son of God, and greater than any amongſt the greateſt families of men, by his example and doctrines forecloſed his followers from claiming any ſhew of outward greatneſs, from

any ſuppoſed ſuperiority in themſelves, or derived from their anceſtors.

He, who was greater than earthly princes, was not only meek and low of heart, but his outward appearance was plain and lowly, and free from every ſtain of the ſpirit of this world.

Such was the example of our bleſſed Redeemer; of whom the beloved diſciple ſaid, "He, that ſaith he abideth in him, ought alſo "to walk even as he walked."

John Bradford, who ſuffered martyrdom under queen Mary, wrote a letter to his friends out of priſon, a ſhort time before he was burnt, in which are theſe expreſſions; "Conſider your dignity as children of God and temples of the Holy Ghoſt, and members of Chriſt; be aſhamed therefore to think, ſpeak, or do any thing, unſeemly for God's children and the members of Chriſt." Fox's Acts and Monuments, page 1177.

CHAP. II.

On the example of CHRIST.

AS my mind hath been brought into a brotherly feeling with the poor, as to the things of this life, who are under trials in regard to getting a living in a way anſwerable to the purity of truth; a labour of heart

heart hath attended me, that their way may not be made difficult through the love of money in thoſe who are tried with plentiful eſtates, but that they with tenderneſs of heart may ſympathize with them.

It was the ſaying of our bleſſed Redeemer, "Ye cannot ſerve God and Mammon." There is a deep feeling of the way of purity, a way, in which the wiſdom of the world hath no part, but is opened by the ſpirit of truth, and is "called the way of holineſs;" a way, in which the traveller is employed in watching unto prayer; and the outward gain we get in this journey is conſidered as a truſt committed to us by HIM who formed and ſupports the world, and is the rightful director of the uſe and application of the product of it.

Now, except the mind be preſerved chaſte, there is no ſafety for us; but, in an eſtrangement from true reſignation, the ſpirit of the world caſts up a way, in which gain is many times principally attended to, and in which there is a ſelfiſh application of outward treaſures.

How agreeable to the true harmony of ſociety is that exhortation of the apoſtle! "Look not every man on his own things, "but every man on the things of others. "Let this mind be in you which was alſo in "Chriſt Jeſus."

A perſon in outward proſperity may have the power of obtaining riches, but, the ſame mind being in him which is in Chriſt Jeſus,

he may feel a tenderneſs of heart toward thoſe of low degree; and, inſtead of ſetting himſelf above them, may look upon it as an unmerited favour that his way through life is more eaſy than the way of many others; may improve every opportunity of leading forth out of thoſe cuſtoms which have entangled the family; employ his time in looking into the wants of the poor members; and hold forth ſuch a perfect example of humiliation, that the pure witneſs may be reached in many minds, and the way opened for a harmonious walking together.

Jeſus Chriſt, in promoting the happineſs of others, was not deficient in looking for the helpleſs who lay in obſcurity, nor did he ſave any thing to render himſelf honourable amongſt men, which might have been of more uſe to the weak members in his Father's family; of whoſe compaſſion toward us I may now ſpeak a little. He, who was perfectly happy in himſelf, moved with infinite love, "took not upon him the nature of an-"gels," but our imperfect nature, and therein wreſtled with the temptations which attend us in this life; and, being the Son of HIM who is greater than earthly princes, yet became a companion to poor ſincere-hearted men; and, though he gave the cleareſt evidence that divine power attended him, yet the moſt unfavourable conſtructions were framed by a ſelf-righteous people; thoſe miracles repreſented as the effect of a diabolical power; and endeavours uſed to render

him

him hateful, as having his miſſion from the prince of darkneſs: nor did their envy ceaſe till they took him like a criminal and brought him to trial. Though ſome may affect to carry the appearance of being unmoved at the apprehenſion of diſtreſs, our dear Redeemer, who was perfectly ſincere, having the ſame human nature which we have, and feeling, a little before he was apprehended, the weight of that work upon him for which he came into the world, was "ſorrowful "even unto death:" here the human nature ſtruggled to be excuſed from a cup ſo bitter; but his prayers centered in reſignation: "Not "my will, but thine, be done." In this conflict, ſo great was his agony, that "ſweat, "like drops of blood, fell from him to the "ground."

Behold now, as foretold by the prophet, he is in a judicial manner "numbered with the "tranſgreſſors." Behold him, as ſome poor man of no reputation, ſtanding before the high-prieſt and elders, and before Herod and Pilate, where witneſſes appear againſt him, and he, mindful of the moſt gracious deſign of his coming, declineth to plead in his own defence, "but, as a ſheep that is dumb be-"fore his ſhearer," ſo he, under many accuſations, revilings, and buffetings, remaineth ſilent. And, though he ſignified to Peter that he had acceſs to power ſufficient to overthrow all their outward forces, yet, retaining a reſignation to ſuffer for the ſins of mankind, he exerted not that power, but permitted them

to go on in their malicious deſigns, and pronounce him to be worthy of death, even him who was perfect in goodneſs: thus, "in his "humiliation, his judgement was taken a-"way," and he, like ſome vile criminal, "led as a lamb to the ſlaughter." Under theſe heavy trials (though poor unſtable Pilate was convinced of his innocence, yet) the people generally looked upon him as a deceiver and blaſphemer, and the approaching puniſhment as a juſt judgement upon him: "They "eſteemed him ſmitten of God and afflicted." So great had been the ſurprize of his diſciples, at his being taken by armed men, that they "forſook him and fled:" thus they hid their faces from him; he was deſpiſed; and by their conduct it appeared as though "they eſ-"teemed him not."

But, contrary to that opinion, of his being ſmitten of God and afflicted, it was for our ſakes that "he was put to grief: he was "wounded for our tranſgreſſions; he was "bruiſed for our iniquities;" and, under the weight of them, manifeſting the deepeſt compaſſion for the inſtruments of his miſery, laboured as their advocate, and, in the deeps of affliction, with an unconquerable patience, cried out, "Father, forgive them; they know "not what they do!"

Now, this mind being in us, which was in Chriſt Jeſus, it removes, from our hearts, the deſire of ſuperiority, worldly honour, or greatneſs; a deep attention is felt to the divine counſellor, and an ardent engagement

to

to promote, as far as we may be enabled, the happineſs of mankind univerſally. This ſtate, where every motion from a ſelfiſh ſpirit yieldeth to pure love, I may, with gratitude to the Father of mercies, acknowledge, is often opened before me, as a pearl to dig after attended with a living concern, that, amongſt the many nations and families on the earth, thoſe who believe on the Meſſiah, that "he "was manifeſted to deſtroy the works of the "devil," and thus to "take away the ſins of "the world," may experience the will of our heavenly Father "may be done on earth "as it is in heaven." Strong are the deſires I often feel, that this holy profeſſion may remain unpolluted, and the believers in Chriſt may ſo abide in the pure inward feeling of his ſpirit, that the wiſdom from above may ſhine forth in their living, as a light by which others may be inſtrumentally helped on their way, in the true harmonious walking.

CHAP. III.

On Merchandizing.

WHERE the treaſures of pure love are opened, and we obediently follow him who is the light of life, the mind becomes chaſte, and a care is felt that the unction from the Holy One may be our leader in every undertaking.

In

In being crucified to the world, broken-off from that friendſhip which is enmity with God, and dead to the cuſtoms and faſhions which have not their foundation in the truth, the way is prepared to lowlineſs in outward living, and to a diſentanglement from thoſe ſnares which attend the love of money; and where the faithful friends of Chriſt are ſo ſituated that merchandize appears to be their duty, they feel a reſtraint from proceeding farther than he owns their proceeding, being convinced that "we are not our own, but are "bought with a price, that none of us may "live to ourſelves, but to him who died for "us." 2 Corin. v. 15. Thus they are taught not only to keep to a moderate advance and uprightneſs in their dealings, but to conſider the tendency of their proceeding; to do nothing which they know would operate againſt the cauſe of univerſal righteouſneſs; and to keep continually in view the ſpreading of the peaceable kingdom of Chriſt amongſt mankind.

The prophet Iſaiah ſpake of the gathered church, in the ſimilitude of a city, where many being employed were all preſerved in purity: "They ſhall call them the holy peo-"ple, the redeemed of the Lord, and thou "ſhalt be called ſought out, a city not for-"ſaken." lxiii. 10. And the apoſtle, after mentioning the myſtery of Chriſt's ſufferings, exhorts, "Be ye holy in all manner of con-"verſation." 1 Pet. i. 15. There is a converſation neceſſary in trade; and there is a converſation

converſation ſo foreign from the nature of Chriſt's kingdom, that it is repreſented in the ſimilitude of one man puſhing another with a warlike weapon: "There is that ſpeaketh "like the piercings of a ſword." Prov. xii. 18. Now, in all our concerns, it is neceſſary that the leading of the ſpirit of Chriſt be humbly waited for and faithfully followed, as the only means of being preſerved chaſte as an holy people, who "in all things are circumſpect," Exod. xxiii. 13. that nothing we do may carry the appearance of approbation of the works of wickedneſs, make the unrighteous more at eaſe in unrighteouſneſs, or occaſion the injuries committed againſt the oppreſſed to be more lightly looked over.

Where morality is kept to and ſupported by the inhabitants of a country, there is a certain reproach attends thoſe individuals amongſt them, who manifeſtly deviate therefrom. Thus, if a perſon of good report is charged with ſtealing goods out of an open ſhop in the day-time, and on a public trial found guilty, and the law in that caſe put in execution, he therein ſuſtains a loſs of reputation; but, if he be convicted a ſecond and third time of the like offence, his good name would ceaſe amongſt ſuch as knew theſe things. If his neighbour, reputed an honeſt man, were charged with buying goods of this thief, at a time when the purchaſer knew they were ſtolen, and on a public trial found guilty, this purchaſer would meet with diſeſteem; but, if he perſiſted in buying ſtolen

goods,

goods, knowing them to be ſuch, and was publicly convicted thereof a ſecond and third time, he would no longer be conſidered as an honeſt man by them who knew theſe things; nor would it appear of good report to be found in his company, buying his traffic, till ſome evident tokens of ſincere repentance appeared in him. But where iniquity is committed openly, and the authors of it are not brought to juſtice, nor put to ſhame, their hands grow ſtrong. Thus the general corruption of the Jews, ſhortly before their ſtate was broken up by the Chaldeans, is deſcribed by their boldneſs in impiety; for, as their leaders were connected together in wickedneſs, they ſtrengthened one another, and grew confident: "Were they aſhamed when "they had committed abominations? nay, "they were not at all aſhamed, neither could "they bluſh." Jer. vi. 15. On which account the Lord thus expoſtulates with them; "What "hath my beloved to do in my houſe, ſeeing "ſhe hath wrought lewdneſs with many? "and the holy fleſh is paſſed from thee; "when thou doeſt evil, then thou rejoiceſt." Jer. xi. 15.

Now the faithful friends of Chriſt, who hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſs, and inwardly breathe that his kingdom may come on earth as it is in heaven, he teacheth to be quick of underſtanding in his fear, and to be very attentive to the means he may appoint for promoting pure righteouſneſs in the earth; and, as ſhame is due to thoſe whoſe works

works manifeſtly operate againſt the gracious deſign of his ſufferings for us, a care lives on their minds that no wrong cuſtoms, however ſupported, may biaſs their judgements, but that they may humbly abide under the croſs, and be preſerved in a conduct which may not contribute to ſtrengthen the hands of the wicked in their wickedneſs, or to remove ſhame from thoſe to whom it is juſtly due. The coming of that day is precious in which we experience the truth of this expreſſion; "The Lord, our righteouſneſs," Jer. xiii. 6, and feel him to be "made unto us wiſdom "and ſanctification."

The example of a righteous man is often looked at with attention. Where righteous men join in buſineſs their company gives encouragement to others; and as one grain of incenſe, deliberately offered to the prince of this world, renders an offering to God in that ſtate unacceptable; and from thoſe eſteemed leaders of the people may be injurous to the weak; it requires deep humility of heart to follow him faithfully, who alone gives ſound wiſdom and the ſpirit of true diſcerning; and Oh! how neceſſary it is to conſider the weight of a holy profeſſion!

The conduct of ſome formerly gave occaſion of complaint againſt them; "Thou haſt "defiled thy ſanctuaries by the multitude of "thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy "traffic." Ezek. xxviii. 18. And in ſeveral places it is charged againſt Iſrael that they had polluted the holy name.

The

The prophet Iſaiah repreſents inward ſanctification in the ſimilitude of being purged from that which is fuel for fire; and he particularly deſcribes the outward fruits, brought forth by thoſe who dwell in this inward holineſs; "they walk righteouſly and ſpeak uprightly." By "walking," he repreſents the journey through life as a righteous journey; and, by "ſpeaking uprightly," ſeems to point at that which Moſes appears to have had in view, when he thus expreſſed himſelf: "Thou "ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evil, "nor ſpeak in a caſe, to decline after many, "to wreſt judgement." Exod. xxiii. 2.

He goes on to ſhew their firmneſs in equity; repreſenting them as perſons ſuperior to all the arts of getting money which have not righteouſneſs for their foundation: "They "deſpiſe the gain of oppreſſions." And, farther, he ſhews how careful they are that no proſpects of gain may induce them to become partial in judgement, reſpecting an injury: "They ſhake their hands from holding "bribes."

Again, where any intereſt is ſo connected with ſhedding blood that the cry of innocent blood goes alſo with it, he points out their care, to keep innocent blood from crying againſt them, in the ſimilitude of a man, ſtopping his ears to prevent a ſound from entering his head: "They ſtop their ears from "hearing blood:" and, where they know that wickedneſs is committed, he points out, with care, that they do not, by an unguarded

friendſhip

friendſhip with the authors of it, appear like unconcerned lookers-on, but as people ſo deeply affected with ſorrow that they cannot endure to ſtand by and behold it; this he repreſents in the ſimilitude of a man "ſhutting "his eyes from ſeeing evil."

"Who, amongſt us, ſhall dwell with the "devouring fire? Who, amongſt us, ſhall dwell "with everlaſting burnings? He that walk-"eth righteouſly and ſpeaketh uprightly: he "that deſpiſeth the gain of oppreſſions, that "ſhaketh his hands from holding of bribes, "that ſtoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, "and ſhutteth his eyes from ſeeing evil." Iſaiah xxxiii. 14, 15.

He proceeds, in the ſpirit of prophecy, to ſhew how the faithful, being ſupported under temptations, would be preſerved from that defilement that there is in the love of money; that as they, who, in a reverent waiting on God, feel their ſtrength renewed, are ſaid to "mount upward," ſo, here, their preſervation from the ſnare of unrighteous gain is repreſented in the likeneſs of a man, borne up above all crafty artful means of getting the advantage of another; "They ſhall dwell on "high;" and points out the ſtability and firmneſs of their condition, "His place of "defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks;" and that, under all the outward appearances of loſs, in denying himſelf of gainful profits, for righteouſneſs-ſake, yet, through the care of him who provides for the ſparrows, he ſhould have a ſupply anſwerable to his infi-

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nite wiſdom: " Bread ſhall be given him; " his waters ſhall be ſure." And as our Saviour mentions the ſight of God to be attainable by " the pure in heart," ſo here the prophet pointed out, how in true ſanctification the underſtanding is opened, to behold the peaceable harmonious nature of his kingdom; " thine eyes ſhall ſee the king in his beauty:" and that looking beyond all the afflictions, which attend the righteous, to " a habitati- " on eternal in the heavens," they with an eye divinely open " ſhall behold the land that " is very far off."

" He ſhall dwell on high, his place of de- " fence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, bread " ſhall be given him, his waters ſhall be ſure. " Thine eyes ſhall ſee the king in his beauty; " they ſhall behold the land that is very far " off." Iſaiah xxxiii. 16, 17.

I often remember, and to me the ſubject is awful, that the great Judge of all the earth doeth that which is right, and that he, " be- " fore whom the nations are as the drop of " a bucket," is " no reſpecter of perſons." Happy for them, who, like the inſpired prophet, " in the way of his judgements wait for him." Iſaiah xxvi. 8.

When we feel him to ſet as a refiner with fire, and know a reſignedneſs wrought in us to that which he appoints for us, his bleſſing, in a very low eſtate, is found to be more precious than much outward treaſure in thoſe ways of life where the leadings of his ſpirit are not followed.

The

The prophet, in a ſight of divine work amongſt many people, declared in the name of the Lord, "I will gather all nations and "tongues, and they ſhall come and ſee my "glory." Iſaiah lxvi. 18. And again, "From "the riſing of the ſun to the going down of "the ſame, my name ſhall be great amongſt "the Gentiles, and in every place incenſe "ſhall be offered to my name, and a pure "offering." Malachi i. 11.

Behold here how the prophets had an inward ſenſe of the ſpreading of the kingdom of Chriſt; and how he was ſpoken of as one who ſhould "take the heathen for his inhe-"ritance, and the utmoſt parts of the earth "for his poſſeſſion." Pſal. ii. 8. That "he "was given for a light to the Gentiles; and "for ſalvation to the ends of the earth." Iſaiah xlix. 6.

When we meditate on this divine work, as a work of ages, a work that the prophets felt long before Chriſt appeared viſibly on earth, and remember the bitter agonies he endured when he "poured out his ſoul unto death," that the heathen nations, as well as others, might come to the knowledge of the truth and be ſaved:

When we contemplate on this marvellous work, as that which "the angels deſire to "look into," 1 Pet. i. 12. and behold people amongſt whom this light hath eminently broken forth, and who have received many favours from the bountiful hand of our heavenly Father; not only indifferent with re-

ſpect to publiſhing the glad tidings amongſt the Gentiles, as yet ſitting in darkneſs and entangled with many ſuperſtitions; but aſpiring after wealth and worldly honours, take hold of means to obtain their ends, tending to ſtir up wrath and indignation, and to beget an abhorrence in them to the name of Chriſtianity; when theſe things are weightily attended to, how mournful is the ſubject!

It is worthy of remembrance, that people in different ages, deeply baptiſed into the nature of that work for which Chriſt ſuffered, have joyfully offered up their liberty and lives for the promoting of it in the earth.

Polycarp, who was reputed a diſciple of St. John, having attained to great age, was at length ſentenced to die for his religion, and, being brought to the fire, prayed nearly as follows: "Thou God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom I have received the knowledge of thee! O God of the angels and powers, and of every living creature, and of all ſorts of juſt men which live in thy preſence; I thank thee! that thou haſt graciouſly vouchſafed this day and this hour to allot me a portion among the number of martyrs, among the people of Chriſt, unto the reſurrection of everlaſting life; among whom I ſhall be received in thy ſight, this day, as a fruitful and acceptable ſacrifice; wherefore for all this, I praiſe thee, I bleſs thee, I glorify thee, through the everlaſting High-Prieſt, Jeſus Chriſt, thy well beloved Son;

ſon; to whom, with thee and the holy Ghoſt, be all glory, world without end! Amen."

Biſhop Latimer, when ſentence of death, by fire, was pronounced againſt him, on account of his firmneſs in the cauſe of religion, ſaid, "I thank God moſt heartily! that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may, in this caſe, glorify him by this kind of death." Fox's Acts and Mon. 936.

William Dewſbery, who had ſuffered much for his religion, in his laſt ſickneſs, encouraging his friends to faithfulneſs, made mention, like good old Jacob, of the loving kindneſs of God to him in the courſe of his life, and that, through the power of divine love, he for Chriſt's ſake had joyfully entered priſons. See introduction to his works.

I mention theſe, as a few examples, out of many, of the powerful operation of the ſpirit of Chriſt, where people are fully devoted to it, and of the ardent longings in their minds for the ſpreading of his kingdom amongſt mankind. Now to thoſe, in the preſent age, who truly know Chriſt, and feel the nature of his peaceable government opened in their underſtandings, how loud is that call wherewith we are called to faithfulneſs; that, in following this pure light of life, "we, as "workers together with him, "may labour in that great work for which he was offered as a ſacrifice on the croſs; and that his peaceable doctrines may ſhine through us in their real harmony, at a time when the name of

Chriſtianity is become hateful to many of the heathen!

When Gehazi had obtained treaſures, which the prophet, under divine direction, had refuſed, and was returned from the buſineſs, the prophet, troubled at his conduct, queried if it was a time thus to prepare for a ſpecious living.

"Is it a time to receive money and gar-
"ments, men-ſervants and maid-ſervants?
"The leproſy, therefore, of Naaman ſhall cleave
"to thee and to thy ſeed for ever." 2 Kings v. 26. And oh! that we may lay to heart the condition of the preſent time, and humbly follow his counſel who alone is able to prepare the way for a true harmonious walking amongſt mankind.

CHAP. IV.

On divine Admonitions.

SUCH are the perfections of our heavenly Father, that, in all the diſpenſations of his providence, it is our duty, "in every
"thing, to give thanks." Though, from the firſt ſettlement of this part of America, he hath not extended his judgements to the degree of famine, yet worms, at times, have come forth, beyond numbering, and laid waſte fields of grain and graſs, where they have appeared: another kind, in great multitudes,

working

working out of ſight, in graſs-ground, have ſo eaten the roots that the ſurface, being looſened from the ſoil beneath, might be taken off in great ſheets.

Theſe kinds of devouring creatures appearing ſeldom and coming in ſuch multitudes, their generation appears different from moſt other reptiles; and, by the prophet, they were called "God's army, ſent amongſt the peo-" ple." Joel ii. 25.

There have been tempeſts of hail which have very much deſtroyed the grain where they extended: through long drought, in ſummer, grain, in ſome places, hath been leſs than half the uſual quantity;* and, in the continuance thereof, I have beheld, with attention, from week to week, how dryneſs, from the top of the earth, hath extended deeper and deeper, while the corn and plants have languiſhed: and, with reverence, my mind hath been turned toward HIM, who, being perfect in goodneſs, in wiſdom, and power, doeth all things right. And, after long drought, when the ſky hath grown dark with a collection of matter, and clouds, like lakes of water, hung over our heads, from whence the thirſty land hath been ſoaked, I have, at times, with awfulneſs, beheld the vehement operation of lightning, made ſometimes to accompany theſe bleſſings, as a meſ-

* When crops fail, I often feel a tender care that the caſe of poor tenants may be mercifully conſidered.

ſenger from HIM who created all things, to remind us of our duty in a right uſe of thoſe benefits, and give ſtriking admonitions, that we do not miſapply thoſe gifts, in which an almighty power is exerted, in beſtowing them upon us.

When I have conſidered that many of our fellow-creatures ſuffer much in ſome places, for want of the neceſſaries of life, whilſt thoſe who rule over them are too much given to luxury and divers vanities; and behold the apparent deviation from pure wiſdom amongſt us, in the uſe of the outward gifts of God; thoſe marks of famine have appeared like humbling admonitions from him, that we might be inſtructed by gentle chaſtiſements, and might ſeriouſly conſider our ways; remembering that the outward ſupply of life is a gift from our heavenly Father, and that we ſhould no more venture to uſe, or apply, his gifts, in a way contrary to pure wiſdom.

Should we continue to reject thoſe merciful admonitions, and uſe his gifts at home, contrary to the gracious deſign of the giver, or ſend them abroad in a way of trade, which the ſpirit of truth doth not lead into; and ſhould he, whoſe eyes are upon all our ways, extend his chaſtiſements ſo far as to reduce us to much greater diſtreſs than hath yet been felt by theſe provinces; with what ſorrow of heart might we meditate on that ſubject! "Haſt thou not procured this unto thyſelf, "in that thou haſt forſaken the Lord thy "God, when he led thee by the way?

"Thine

" Thine own wickedneſs ſhall correct thee;
" and thy backſlidings ſhall reprove thee:
" know therefore and ſee, that it is an evil
" thing and bitter, that thou haſt forſaken
" the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not
" in thee, ſaith the Lord God of hoſts." Jer. ii. 17, 19.

My mind hath often been affected with ſorrow, in beholding a wrong application of the gifts of our heavenly Father; and thoſe expreſſions concerning the defilement of the earth have been opened to my underſtanding: " The earth was corrupt before God, and " the earth was filled with violence." Gen. vi. 11. Again, Iſaiah xxiv. 5. " The earth " alſo is defiled under the inhabitants there- " of, becauſe they have—broken the ever- " laſting covenant."

The earth, being the work of a divine power, may not as ſuch be accounted unclean; but, when violence is committed thereon, and the channel of righteouſneſs ſo obſtructed, that " in our ſkirts are found the blood of " the ſouls of poor innocents; not by a ſe- " cret ſearch, but upon all theſe." Jerem. ii. 34. *

When blood, ſhed unrighteouſly, remains unatoned for, and the inhabitants are not effectually purged from it; when they do not waſh their hands in innocency, as was figured in the law, in the caſe of one being found

* See a caution and warning to Great-Britain and her colonies, page 31.

ſlain; but ſeek for gain ariſing from ſcenes of violence and oppreſſion; here the land is polluted with blood. Deut. xxi. 6.

Moreover, when the earth is planted and tilled, and the fruits brought forth are applied to ſupport unrighteous purpoſes; here, the gracious deſign of infinite goodneſs, in theſe his gifts, being perverted, the earth is defiled, and the complaint, formerly uttered, becomes applicable: "Thou haſt made me to ſerve "with thy ſins; thou haſt wearied me with "thine iniquities." Iſaiah xliii. 24.

REMARKS.

REMARKS
ON
SUNDRY SUBJECTS.

First printed in London, 1773.

CHAP. I.

On loving our Neighbours as ourſelves.

WHEN we love the Lord with all our hearts, and his creatures in his love, we are then preſerved in tenderneſs both toward mankind and the animal creation; but, if another ſpirit gets room in our minds, and we follow it in our proceedings, we are then in the way of diſordering the affairs of ſociety.

If a man, ſucceſsful in buſineſs, expends part of his income in things of no real uſe, while the poor employed by him paſs through great difficulties in getting the neceſſaries of life, this requires his ſerious attention.

If

If ſeveral principal men in buſineſs unite in ſetting the wages of thoſe who work for hire, and therein have regard to a profit to themſelves anſwerable to unneceſſary expence in their families, while the wages of the others, on a moderate induſtry, will not afford a comfortable living for their families, and a proper education for their children; — this is like laying a temptation, in the way of ſome, to ſtrive for a place higher than they are in, when they have not ſtock ſufficient for it.

Now I feel a concern, in the ſpring of pure love, that all, who have plenty of outward ſubſtance, may example others in the right uſe of things; may carefully look into the condition of poor people; and beware of exacting on them with regard to their wages.

While hired labourers, by moderate induſtry, through the divine bleſſing, may live comfortably, raiſe up families, and give them ſuitable education, it appears reaſonable for them to be content with their wages.

If they, who have plenty, love their fellow-creatures in that love which is divine, and in all their proceedings have an equal regard to the good of mankind univerſally, their place in ſociety is a place of care, an office requiring attention; and, the more we poſſeſs, the greater is our truſt; and, with an increaſe of treaſure, an increaſe of care becomes neceſſary.

When our will is ſubject to the will of God, and, in relation to the things of this world, we have nothing in view but a comfortable

living

living equally with the reſt of our fellow-creatures, then outward treaſures are no farther deſirable than as we feel a gift in our minds equal to the truſt, and ſtrength to act, as dutiful children, in his ſervice who hath formed all mankind, and appointed a ſubſiſtence for us in this world.

A deſire for treaſures, on any other motive, appears to be againſt that command of our bleſſed Saviour, "Lay not up for yourſelves treaſures on earth." Matt. vi. 19.

He forbids not laying up in the ſummer againſt the wants of winter; nor doth he teach us to be ſlothful in that which properly relates to our being in this world; but, in this prohibition, he puts in *yourſelves*: "Lay not up for *yourſelves* treaſures here on earth."

Now, in the pure light, this language is underſtood; for in the love of Chriſt there is no reſpect of perſons; and, while we abide in his love, we live not to ourſelves, but to him who died for us; and, as we are thus united in ſpirit to Chriſt, we are engaged to labour in promoting that work in the earth for which he ſuffered.

In this ſtate of mind our deſires are, that every honeſt member in ſociety may have a portion of treaſure, and ſhare of truſt, anſwerable to that gift with which our heavenly Father hath gifted us.

In great treaſure there is a great truſt.
A great truſt requireth great care.
But the laborious mind wants reſt.

A pious

A pious man is content to do a ſhare of buſineſs in ſociety, anſwerable to the gifts with which he is endowed, while the channels of buſineſs are free from unrighteouſneſs; but is careful leſt at any time his heart be overcharged.

In the harmonious ſpirit of ſociety "Chriſt "is all in all." Col. iii. 11.

Here it is that "old things are paſt away, "all things are new, all things are of God," 2 Cor. v. 17, 18. and the deſire for outward riches is at an end.

They of low degree, who have ſmall gifts, enjoy their help who have large gifts; thoſe with their ſmall gifts have a ſmall degree of care, while theſe with their large gifts have a large degree of care: and thus to abide in the love of Chriſt, and enjoy a comfortable living in this world, is all that is aimed at by thoſe members in ſociety to whom Chriſt is made wiſdom and righteouſneſs.

But when they, who have much treaſure, are not faithful ſtewards of the gifts of God, great difficulties attend it.

Now, this matter hath deeply affected my mind. The Lord, through merciful chaſtiſements, hath given me a feeling of that love in which the harmony of ſociety ſtandeth, and a ſight of the growth of that ſeed which bringeth forth wars and great calamities in the world; and a labour attends me to open it to others.

Now, to act with integrity, according to that ſtrength of mind and body with which

our

our Creator hath endowed each of us, appears neceſſary for all; and he, who thus ſtands in the loweſt ſtation, appears to be entitled to as comfortable and convenient a living as he whoſe gifts of mind are greater and whoſe cares are more extenſive.

If ſome, endowed with ſtrong underſtandings, as men, abide not in the harmonious ſtate in which we "love our neighbours as "ourſelves," but walk in that ſpirit in which the children of this world are wiſe in their generation, theſe, by the ſtrength of contrivance may ſometimes gather great treaſure; but the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God; and, if we gather treaſures in worldly wiſdom, we lay up "treaſures for "ourſelves;" and great treaſures, managed in any other ſpirit than the ſpirit of truth, diſorder the affairs of ſociety; for hereby the good gifts of God, in this outward creation, are turned into the channels of worldly honour, and frequently applied to ſupport luxury, while the wages of poor labourers are ſuch, that, with moderate induſtry and frugality, they cannot live comfortably, raiſe up families, and give them ſuitable education; but, through the ſtraightneſs of their condition, are often drawn on to labour under wearineſs, to toil through hardſhips themſelves, and frequently to oppreſs thoſe uſeful animals with which we are entruſted.

From age to age, throughout all ages, divine love is that alone, in which dominion has been, is, and will be, rightly conducted.

In

In this the endowments of men are ſo employed, that the friend and the governor are united in one, and oppreſſive cuſtoms come to an end.

Riches, in the hands of individuals in ſociety, are attended with ſome degree of power; and, ſo far as power is put forth ſeparate from pure love, ſo far the government of the Prince of peace is interrupted; and, as we know not that our children after us will dwell in that ſtate in which power is rightly applied, to lay up riches for them appears to be againſt the nature of his government.

The earth, through the labour of men under the bleſſing of him who formed it, yieldeth a ſupply for the inhabitants, from generation to generation, and they, who walk in the pure light, have their minds prepared to taſte and reliſh not only thoſe bleſſings which are ſpiritual, but alſo feel a ſweetneſs and ſatisfaction in a right uſe of the good gifts of God in the viſible creation.

Here we ſee that man's happineſs ſtands not in great poſſeſſions, but in a heart devoted to follow Chriſt, in that uſe of things, where cuſtoms, contrary to univerſal love, have no power over us.

In this ſtate our hearts are prepared to truſt in God, and our deſires for our children and poſterity are, that they, with the reſt of mankind, in ages to come, may be of that number, of whom he hath ſaid, "I will be a "father to them, and they ſhall be my ſons "and daughters," 2 Cor. vi. 18.

When

When wages in a fruitful land bear ſo ſmall a proportion to the neceſſaries of life, that poor honeſt people who have families cannot, by a moderate induſtry, attain to a comfortable living, and give their children ſufficient learning, but muſt either labour to a degree of oppreſſion, or elſe omit that which appears to be a duty:

While this is the caſe with the poor, there is an inclination in the minds of moſt people to prepare at leaſt ſo much treaſure for their children, that they with care and moderate induſtry may live free from theſe hardſhips which the poor paſs through.

Now this ſubject requireth our ſerious conſideration: to labour that our children may be put in a way to live comfortably appears in itſelf to be a duty, ſo long as theſe our labours are conſiſtent with univerſal righteouſneſs; but if, in ſtriving to ſhun poverty, we do not walk in that ſtate where "Chriſt is "our life," then we wander; "He, that "hath the Son, hath life," 1 John v. 12. "This life is the light of men," John i. 4. If we walk not in this light, we walk in darkneſs, and "he that walketh in darkneſs, "knoweth not whither he goeth," John xii. 35.

To keep to right means, in labouring to attain a right end, is neceſſary: if, in ſtriving to ſhun poverty, we ſtrive only in that ſtate, where Chriſt is the light of our life, our labours will ſtand in the true harmony of ſociety; but if people are confident that the

end

end aimed at is good, and in this confidence purſue it ſo eagerly, as not to wait for the ſpirit of truth to lead them, then they come to loſs. "Chriſt is given to be a leader and "commander of the people," Iſaiah lv. 4. Again; "The Lord ſhall guide thee conti- "nually," Iſaiah lviii. 12. Again; "Lord, "thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou "alſo haſt wrought all our works in us," Iſaiah xxvi. 12.

"In the Lord have we righteouſneſs and "ſtrength," Iſaiah xlv. 24.

In this ſtate our minds are preſerved watchful in following the leadings of his ſpirit in all our proceedings in this world, and a care is felt for a reformation in general, that our own poſterity, with the reſt of mankind in ſucceeding ages, may not be entangled by oppreſſive cuſtoms, tranſmitted to them through our hands: but if people, in the narrowneſs of natural love, are afraid that their children will be oppreſſed by the rich, and, through an eager deſire to get treaſures, depart from the pure leadings of truth in one caſe, though it may ſeem to be a ſmall matter, yet the mind even in that ſmall matter may be emboldened to continue in a way of proceeding, without waiting for the divine Leader.

Thus people may grow expert in buſineſs, wiſe in the wiſdom of this world, retain a fair reputation amongſt men, and yet, being ſtrangers to the voice of Chriſt, the ſafe leader of his flock, the treaſures, thus gotten,

may

may be like ſnares to the feet of their poſterity.

Now, to keep faithful to the pure counſellor, and, under trying circumſtances, ſuffer adverſity for righteouſneſs ſake, in this there is a reward.

If we, being poor, are hardly dealt with by thoſe who are rich, and, under this difficulty, are frugal and induſtrious, and in true humility open our caſe to them who oppreſs us, this may reach the pure witneſs in their minds; and though we ſhould remain under difficulties as to the outward, yet, if we abide in the love of Chriſt, all will work for our good.

When we feel what it is to ſuffer in the true ſuffering ſtate, then we experience the truth of thoſe expreſſions, that, "as the ſufferings "of Chriſt abound in us, ſo our conſolation "aboundeth by Chriſt." 2 Cor. i. 5.

But if poor people, who are hardly dealt with, do not attain to the true ſuffering ſtate, do not labour in true love with thoſe who deal hardly with them, but envy their outward greatneſs, murmur in their hearts becauſe of their own poverty, and ſtrive in the wiſdom of this world to get riches for themſelves and their children; this is like wandering in the dark.

If we who are of a middle ſtation, between riches and poverty, are affected at times with the oppreſſions of the poor, and feel a tender regard for our poſterity after us; oh! how ne-

ceſſary is it that we wait for the pure counſel of truth!

Many have ſeen the hardſhips of the poor, felt an eager deſire that their children may be put in a way to eſcape theſe hardſhips; but how few have continued in that pure love which openeth our underſtandings to proceed rightly under theſe difficulties!

How few have faithfully followed that holy Leader, who prepares his people to labour for the reſtoration of true harmony amongſt our fellow-creatures!

"In the pure goſpel-ſpirit we walk by faith, "and not by ſight." 2 Cor. v. 7.

In the obedience of faith we die to the narrowneſs of ſelf-love, and our life being hid with Chriſt in God, our hearts are enlarged toward mankind univerſally; but, in departing from the true light of life, many, in ſtriving to get treaſures, have ſtumbled upon the dark mountains.

Now, that purity of life which proceeds from faithfulneſs in following the ſpirit of truth, that ſtate where our minds are devoted to ſerve God, and all our wants are bounded by his wiſdom, this habitation has often been opened before me as a place of retirement for the children of the light, where we may ſtand ſeparated from that which diſordereth and confuſeth the affairs of ſociety, and where we may have a teſtimony of our innocence in the hearts of thoſe who behold us.

Through

Through departing from the truth as it is in Jeſus, through introducing ways of life attended with unneceſſary expences, many wants have ariſen, the minds of people have been employed in ſtudying to get wealth, and in this purſuit ſome, departing from equity, have retained a profeſſion of religion; others have looked at their example, and thereby been ſtrengthened to proceed farther in the ſame way: thus many have encouraged the trade of taking men from Africa, ſelling them as ſlaves.

It hath been computed that near one hundred thouſand Negroes have, of late years, been taken annually from that coaſt, by ſhips employed in the Engliſh trade.

As I have travelled on religious viſits, in ſome parts of America, I have ſeen many of theſe people under the command of overſeers, in a painful ſervitude.

I have beheld them as Gentiles under people profeſſing Chriſtianity, not only kept ignorant of the holy ſcriptures, but under great provocations to wrath; of whom it may truly be ſaid, "They that rule over them "make them to howl, and the holy Name "is abundantly blaſphemed." Iſaiah lii. 5. Where children are taught to read the ſacred writings, while young, and exampled in meekneſs and humility, it is often helpful to them; nor is this any more than a debt due from us to a ſucceeding age.

But where youth are pinched for want of the neceſſaries of life, forced to labour hard

under the harſh rebukes of rigorous overſeers, and many times endure unmerciful whippings: in ſuch an education, how great are the diſadvantages they lie under! And how forcibly do theſe things work againſt the increaſe of the government of the Prince of peace!

Humphrey Smith, in his works, page 125, ſpeaking of the tender feelings of the love of God in his heart, when he was a child, ſaid, "By the violent wrathful nature, that ruled in others, was my quietneſs diſturbed, and anger begotten in me toward them, yet that of God in me was not wholly overcome, but his love was felt in my heart, and great was my grief when the earthly-mindedneſs and wrathful nature ſo provoked me that I was eſtranged from it."

"And this I write as a warning to parents and others, that, in the fear of the living God, you may train up the youth, and may not be a means of bringing them into ſuch alienation."

Many are the vanities and luxuries of the preſent age, and, in labouring to ſupport a way of living conformable to the preſent world, the departure from that wiſdom that is pure and peaceable hath been great.

Under the ſenſe of a deep revolt, and an overflowing ſtream of unrighteouſneſs, my life has been often a life of mourning, and tender deſires are raiſed in me that the nature of this practice may be laid to heart.

I have

I have read ſome books, written by people who were acquainted with the manner of getting ſlaves in Africa:

I have had verbal relations of this nature from ſeveral Negroes brought from Africa, who have learned to talk Engliſh:

I have ſundry times heard Engliſhmen ſpeak on this ſubject, who have been in Africa on this buſineſs; and from all theſe accounts it appears evident that great violence is committed, and much blood ſhed in Africa in getting ſlaves.

When three or four hundred ſlaves are put in the hold of a veſſel in a hot climate, their breathing ſoon affects the air. Were that number of free people to go paſſengers, with all things proper for their voyage, there would inconvenience ariſe from their number; but ſlaves are taken by violence, and frequently endeavour to kill the white people, that they may return to their native land. Hence they are frequently kept under ſuch a ſort of confinement, by means of which a ſcent ariſeth in the hold of a ſhip, and diſtempers often break out amongſt them, of which many die. Of this tainted air, in the hold of ſhips freighted with ſlaves, I have had ſeveral accounts, ſome in print, and ſome verbal, and all agree that the ſcent is grievous. When theſe people are ſold in America, and in the iſlands, they are made to labour in a manner more ſervile and conſtant than that which they were uſed to at home, that,

with grief, with different diet from what has been common with them, and with hard labour, ſome thouſands are computed to die, every year, in what is called the ſeaſoning.

Thus it appears evident that great numbers of theſe people are brought, every year, to an untimely end; many of them being ſuch as never injured us.

Where the innocent ſuffer under hard-hearted men, even unto death, and the channels of equity are ſo obſtructed that the cauſe of the ſufferers is not judged in righteouſneſs, "the land is polluted with blood." Numb. xxxv. 33.

Where blood hath been ſhed unrighteouſly, and remains unatoned for, the cry thereof is very piercing.

Under the humbling diſpenſations of divine Providence, this cry hath deeply affected my heart; and I feel a concern to open, as I may be enabled, that which lieth heavy on my mind.

When "the iniquity of the houſe of Iſrael "and of Judah was exceeding great; when "the land was defiled with blood, and the "city full of perverſeneſs," Ezek. ix. 9, "ſome were found ſighing and crying for "the abominations of the times." Ezek. ix. 4. And ſuch as live under a right feeling of our condition as a nation, theſe, I truſt, will be ſenſible that the Lord at this day doth call to mourning, though many are ignorant of it. So powerful are bad cuſtoms, when they become general, that people, growing bold

through

through the examples of one another, have often been unmoved at the moſt ſerious warnings.

Our bleſſed Saviour, ſpeaking of the people of the old world, ſaid, "They did eat, they "drank, they married, and were given in "marriage, until the day that Noah went into "the ark, and the flood came and deſtroyed "them all." Luke xvii. 27.

The like he ſpake concerning the people of Sodom, who are alſo repreſented by the prophet as haughty, luxurious, and oppreſſive: "This was the ſin of Sodom; pride, fulneſs "of bread, and abundance of idleneſs, was "found in her, and in her daughters; neither did ſhe ſtrengthen the hands of the "poor and needy." Ezek. xvi. 49.

Now, in a revolt ſo deep as this, when much blood has been ſhed unrighteouſly, in carrying on the ſlave-trade, and in ſupporting the practice of keeping ſlaves, which at this day is unatoned for, and crieth from the earth, and from the ſeas, againſt the oppreſſor:

While this practice is continued, and, under a great load of guilt, there is more unrighteouſneſs committed, the ſtate of things is very moving!

There is a love which ſtands in nature, and a parent beholding his child in miſery hath a feeling of the affliction; but, in divine love, the heart is enlarged toward mankind univerſally, and prepared to ſympathize with ſtrangers, though in the loweſt ſtations in life.

Of this the prophet appears to have had a feeling, when he ſaid, "Have we not all one "Father? Hath not one God created us? "Why then do we deal treacherouſly, every "man with his brother, in prophaning the co-"venant of our fathers?" Mal. ii. 10.

He, who of old heard the groans of the children of Iſrael under the hard taſk-maſters in Egypt, I truſt, hath looked down from his holy habitation on the miſeries of theſe deeply-oppreſſed people. Many lives have been ſhortened through extreme oppreſſion, while they laboured to ſupport luxury and worldly greatneſs; and, though many people in outward proſperity may think little of thoſe things, yet the gracious Creator hath regard to the cries of the innocent, however unnoticed by men.

The Lord, in the riches of his goodneſs, is leading ſome into the feeling of the condition of this people, who cannot reſt without labouring as their advocates; of which, in ſome meaſure, I have had experience; for, in the movings of his love in my heart, theſe poor ſufferers have been brought near to me.

I have often been a witneſs to the ſufferings of the unoffending aged and infirm, made to labour too hard, kept on a diet leſs comfortable than their weak ſtate required, and expoſed to great difficulties under hard-hearted men; and, under the heart-melting power of divine love, their miſery hath felt to me like the miſery of my parents.

Innocent

Innocent youth have been taken by violence from their native land, from their friends and acquaintance; put on-board ſhips with hearts laden with ſorrow; expoſed to great hardſhips at ſea; placed under people where their lives have been attended with great provocation to anger and revenge.

With the condition of theſe youth my mind hath often been affected, as with the afflictions of my children; and, in a feeling of the miſery of theſe people, and of that great offence which is miniſtered to them, my tears have been often poured out before the Lord.

That holy ſpirit, which affected my heart when I was a youth, I truſt, is often felt by the Negroes in their native land, inclining their minds to that which is righteous; and, had the profeſſed followers of Chriſt, in all their conduct toward them, manifeſted a diſpoſition anſwerable to the pure principle in their hearts, how might the holy name have been honoured amongſt the Gentiles! and how might we have rejoiced in the fulfilling of that prophecy! "I, the Lord, love judge-
"ment; I hate robbery for burnt-offerings;
"and I will direct their work in truth, and
"make an everlaſting covenant with them.
"Their ſeed ſhall be known amongſt the
"Gentiles, and their offſpring amongſt the
"people: all that ſee them ſhall acknowledge
"them, that they are the ſeed which the Lord
"hath bleſſed." Iſaiah lxi. 8, 9.

But,

But, in the preſent ſtate of things, how contrary is this practice to that meek ſpirit in which our Saviour laid down his life for us, that all the ends of the earth might know ſalvation in his name!

How are the ſufferings of our bleſſed Redeemer ſet at naught, and his name blaſphemed, amongſt the Gentiles, through the unrighteous proceedings of his profeſſed followers!

My mind hath often been affected, even from the days of my youth, under a ſenſe of that marvellous work, for which God, in infinite goodneſs, ſent his Son into the world.

The opening of that ſpring of living waters, which the true believers in Chriſt experience, by which they are redeemed from pride and covetouſneſs, and brought into a ſtate of meekneſs, where their hearts are enlarged in true love toward their fellow-creatures univerſally; — this work, to me, has been precious, and the ſpreading the knowledge of the truth amongſt the Gentiles been very deſirable: and the profeſſed followers of Chriſt joining in cuſtoms evidently unrighteous, which manifeſtly tend to ſtir up wrath and increaſe wars and deſolations, hath often covered my mind with ſorrow.

If we bring this matter home, and, as Job propoſed to his friends, "put our ſoul in their "ſoul's ſtead;" (Job xvi. 4.)

If we conſider ourſelves and our children, as expoſed to the hardſhips which theſe peo-

ple

ple lie under, in ſupporting an imaginary greatneſs;

Did we, in ſuch caſe, behold an increaſe of luxury and ſuperfluity amongſt our oppreſſors, and therewith feel an increaſe of the weight of our burdens, and expect our poſterity to groan under oppreſſion after us;

Under all this miſery, had we none to plead our cauſe, nor any hope of relief from man, how would our cries aſcend to the God of the ſpirits of all fleſh, who judgeth the world in righteouſneſs, and, in his own time, is a refuge for the oppreſſed!

If they, who thus afflicted us, continued to lay claim to religion, and were aſſiſted in their buſineſs by others, eſteemed pious people, who, through a friendſhip with them, ſtrengthened their hands in tyranny:

In ſuch a ſtate, when we were hunger-bitten, and could not have ſufficient nouriſhment, but ſaw them in fulneſs pleaſing their taſte with things fetched from far:

When we were wearied with labour, denied the liberty to reſt, and ſaw them ſpending their time at eaſe: when garments, anſwerable to our neceſſities, were denied us, while we ſaw them clothed in that which was coſtly and delicate:

Under ſuch affliction, how would theſe painful feelings riſe up as witneſſes againſt their pretended devotion! and, if the name of their religion were mentioned in our hearing, how would it ſound in our ears, like a

word

word which ſignified ſelf-exaltation and hardneſs of heart!

When a trade is carried on, productive of much miſery, and they who ſuffer by it are ſome thouſand miles off, the danger is the greater of not laying their ſufferings to heart.

In procuring ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa, many children are ſtolen privately; wars alſo are encouraged amongſt the Negroes, but all is at a great diſtance.

Many groans ariſe from dying men, which we hear not.

Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherleſs children, which reach not our ears.

Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces ſad with unutterable grief, which we ſee not.

Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are ſtrengthened, and thouſands reduced to the moſt abject ſlavery, who never injured us.

Were we for the term of one year only to be eye-witneſſes to what paſſeth in getting theſe ſlaves:

Were the blood which is there ſhed to be ſprinkled on our garments:

Were the poor captives bound with thongs, heavy laden with elephants teeth, to paſs before our eyes on their way to the ſea:

Were their bitter lamentations day after day to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from ſleeping:

Were

Were we to hear the ſound of the tumult when the ſlaves on-board the ſhips attempt to kill the Engliſh, and behold the iſſue of thoſe bloody conflicts:

What pious man could be a witneſs to theſe things, and ſee a trade carried on in this manner, without being deeply affected with ſorrow?

Through abiding in the love of Chriſt we feel a tenderneſs in our hearts toward our fellow-creatures, entangled in oppreſſive cuſtoms; and a concern ſo to walk, that our conduct may not be a means of ſtrengthening them in error.

It was the command of the Lord, through Moſes, "Thou ſhalt not ſuffer ſin upon thy "brother: thou ſhalt in any wiſe rebuke thy "brother, and ſhalt not ſuffer ſin upon him." Lev. xix. 17.

Again; "Keep far from a falſe matter; "and the innocent and righteous ſlay thou "not." Exod. xxiii. 7.

The prophet Iſaiah mentions oppreſſion as that which the true church, in time of outward quiet, ſhould not only be clear of, but ſhould be *far from it*; "Thou ſhalt be far "from oppreſſion," Iſaiah liv. 14. Now theſe words, *far from*, appear to have an extenſive meaning, and to convey inſtruction in regard to that of which Solomon ſpeaks, "Though hand join in hand, the wicked ſhall not go unpuniſhed," Prov. xvi. 5.

It was a complaint againſt one of old, "When thou ſaweſt a thief, thou conſentedſt "with him." Pſal. l. 18.

The

The prophet Jeremiah repreſents the degrees of preparation toward idolatrous ſacrifice in the ſimilitude of a work carried on by children, men, and women. "The "children gather wood, the fathers kindle "the fire, and the women knead the dough "to bake cakes for the queen of heaven." Jer. vii. 18.

It was a complaint of the Lord againſt Iſrael, through his prophet Ezekiel, that "they "ſtrengthened the hands of the wicked, and "made the hearts of the righteous ſad." Ezek. xiii. 12.

Some works of iniquity carried on by the people were repreſented, by the prophet Hoſea, in the ſimilitude of ploughing, reaping, and eating the fruit; "You have ploughed wick-"edneſs, reaped iniquity, eaten the fruit of "lying, becauſe thou didſt truſt, in thy own "way, to the multitude of thy mighty men." Hoſea x. 13.

I have felt great diſtreſs of mind ſince I came on this iſland, on account of the members of our ſociety being mixed with the world in various ſorts of buſineſs and traffic, carried on in impure channels. Great is the trade to Africa for ſlaves; and, in loading theſe ſhips, abundance of people are employed in the manufactories.

Friends in early time refuſed, on a religious principle, to make or trade in ſuperfluities, of which we have many large teſtimonies on record; but; for want of faithfulneſs, ſome gave way, even ſome whoſe examples

were

were of note in ſociety, and from thence others took more liberty: members of our ſociety worked in ſuperfluities, and bought and ſold them, and thus dimneſs of ſight came over many. At length, friends got into the uſe of ſome ſuperfluities in dreſs, and in the furniture of their houſes, and this hath ſpread from leſs to more, till ſuperfluity of ſome kinds is common amongſt us.

In this declining ſtate many look at the example one of another, and too much neglect the pure feeling of truth. Of late years a deep exerciſe hath attended my mind, that friends may dig deep, may carefully caſt forth the looſe matter, and get down to the rock, the ſure foundation, and there hearken to that divine voice which gives a clear and certain ſound.

And I have felt in that which doth not deceive, that if friends, who have known the truth, keep in that tenderneſs of heart, where all views of outward gain are given up, and their truſt is only on the Lord, he will graciouſly lead ſome to be patterns of deep ſelf-denial in things relating to trade and handicraft labour; and that ſome, who have plenty of the treaſures of this world, will example in a plain frugal life, and pay wages, to ſuch as they may hire, more liberally than is now cuſtomary in ſome places.

The prophet, ſpeaking of the true church, ſaid, "Thy people alſo ſhall be all righteous."

Of the depth of this divine work ſeveral have ſpoken. John

John Gratton, in his Journal, p. 45, ſaid, "The Lord is my portion, I ſhall not want. He hath wrought all my works in me. I am nothing but what I am in him."

Gilbert Latey, through the powerful operations of the ſpirit of Chriſt in his ſoul, was brought to that depth of ſelf-denial, that he could not join with that proud ſpirit in other people, which inclined them to want vanities and ſuperfluities. This friend was often amongſt the chief rulers of the nation in times of perſecution, and it appears, by the teſtimony of friends, that his dwelling was ſo evidently in the pure life of truth, that, in his viſits to thoſe great men, he found a place in their minds; and that king James the ſecond, in the times of his troubles, made particular mention in a very reſpectful manner of what Gilbert once ſaid to him.

The ſaid Gilbert found a concern to write an epiſtle, in which are theſe expreſſions; "Fear the Lord, ye men of all ſorts, trades, and callings, and leave off all the evil that is in them; for the Lord is grieved with all the evils uſed in your employments which you are exerciſed in."

"It is even a grief to ſee how you are ſervants to ſin and inſtruments of Satan." See his works, p. 42, &c.

George Fox, in an epiſtle, writes thus: "Friends, ſtand in the eternal power of God, witneſſes againſt the pomps and vanities of this world."

"Such

"Such tradeſmen, as ſtand as witneſſes in the power of God, cannot fulfil the people's minds in theſe vanities, and therefore they are offended at them."

"Let all truſt in the Lord, and wait patiently on him; for, when truth firſt broke forth in London, many tradeſmen could not take ſo much money in their ſhops, for ſome time, as would buy them bread and water, becauſe they withſtood the world's ways, faſhions, and cuſtoms; yet, by their patient waiting on the Lord in their good life and converſation, they anſwered the truth in people's hearts, and thus their buſineſs increaſed." Book of Doctrinals, p. 824.

Now, Chriſt our holy leader graciouſly continueth to open the underſtandings of his people, and as circumſtances alter from age to age, ſome, who are deeply baptized into a feeling of the ſtate of things, are led by his holy Spirit into exerciſes in ſome reſpect different from thoſe which attended the faithful in foregoing ages, and, through the conſtrainings of pure love, are engaged to open the feelings they have to others.

In faithfully following Chriſt, the heart is weaned from the deſire of riches, and we are led into a life ſo plain and ſimple, that a little doth ſuffice, and thus the way openeth to deny ourſelves, under all the tempting allurements of that gain, which we know is the gain of unrighteouſneſs.

The apoſtle, ſpeaking on this ſubject, aſketh this queſtion; "What fellowſhip hath "righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs?" 2 Cor. vi. 14. And again ſaith, "Have no follow-"ſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, "but rather reprove them." Epheſ. v. 11. Again, "Be not partaker of other men's ſins, keep thyſelf pure." 1 Tim. v. 22.

Where people, through the power of Chriſt, are thoroughly ſettled in a right uſe of things, freed from all unneceſſary care and expence, the mind, in this true reſignation, is at liberty, from the bands of a narrow ſelf-intereſt, to attend from time to time on the movings of his ſpirit upon us, though he leads into that through which our faith is cloſely tried.

The language of Chriſt is pure, and, to the pure in heart, this pure language is intelligible; but, in the love of money, the mind, being intent on gain, is too full of human contrivance to attend to it.

It appeareth evident, that ſome channels of trade are defiled with unrighteouſneſs, that the minds of many are intent on getting treaſures to ſupport a life, in which there are many unneceſſary expences.

And I feel a living concern attend my mind, that, under theſe difficulties, we may humbly follow our heavenly Shepherd, who graciouſly regardeth his flock, and is willing and able to ſupply us both inwardly and outwardly with clean provender, that hath been winnowed with the ſhovel and the fan, where we may "ſow to ourſelves in righteouſneſs,

"reap

"reap in mercy," Hoſea x. 12, and not be defiled with the works of iniquity.

Where cuſtoms contrary to pure wiſdom are tranſmitted to poſterity, it appears to be an injury committed againſt them; and I often feel tender compaſſion toward a young generation, and deſires that their difficulties may not be increaſed through unfaithfulneſs in us of the preſent age.

CHAP. II.

On a Sailor's Life.

IN the trade to Africa for ſlaves, and in the management of ſhips going on theſe voyages, many of our lads and young men have a conſiderable part of their education.

Now, what pious father, beholding his ſon placed in one of theſe ſhips to learn the practice of a mariner, could forbear mourning over him?

Where youth are exampled in means of getting money, ſo full of violence and uſed to exerciſe ſuch cruelties on their fellow-creatures, the diſadvantage to them in their education is very great.

But I feel it in my mind to write concerning the ſeafaring life in general.

In the trade carried on from the Weſt-Indies, and from ſome parts of the continent,

the produce of the labour of ſlaves is a conſiderable part.

As ſailors are frequently at the ports where ſlaves abound, and converſe often with people who oppreſs them without the appearance of remorſe, and often with ſailors employed in the ſlave-trade, how powerfully do theſe evil examples ſpread amongſt the ſeafaring youth!

I have had many opportunities to feel and underſtand the general ſtate of the ſeafaring life amongſt us, and my mind hath often been ſad on account of ſo many lads and young men being trained up amidſt ſo great corruption.

Under the humbling power of Chriſt I have ſeen, that, if the leadings of his holy Spirit were faithfully attended to by his profeſſed followers in general, the heathen nations would be exampled in righteouſneſs. A leſs number of people would be employed on the ſeas. The channels of trade would be more free from defilement. Fewer people would be employed in vanities and ſuperfluities.

The inhabitants of cities would be leſs in number.

Thoſe who have much lands would become fathers to the poor.

More people would be employed in the ſweet employment of huſbandry; and, in the path of pure wiſdom, labour would be an agreeable, healthful, employment.

In

In the opening of theſe things in my mind, I feel a living concern that we, who have felt divine love in our hearts, may faithfully abide in it, and, like good ſoldiers, endure hardneſs for Chriſt's ſake.

He, our bleſſed Saviour, exhorting his followers to love one another, adds, "As I have "loved you." John xiii. 34.

He loved Lazarus, yet in his ſickneſs did not heal him, but left him to endure the pains of death, that, in reſtoring him to life, the people might be confirmed in the true faith.

He loved his diſciples, but ſent them forth on a meſſage attended with great difficulty, amongſt hard-hearted people, ſome of whom would think that in killing them they did God ſervice.

So deep is divine love, that, in ſtedfaſtly abiding in it, we are prepared to deny ourſelves all that gain which is contrary to pure wiſdom, and to follow Chriſt, even under contempt, and through ſuffe.ings.

While friends were kept truly humble, and walked according to the purity of our principles, the divine witneſs in many hearts was reached; but when a worldly ſpirit got entrance, therewith came in luxuries and ſuperfluities, and ſpread, by little and little, even amongſt the foremoſt rank in ſociety, and from thence others took liberty in that way more abundantly.

In the continuation of theſe things, from parents to children, there were many wants

to ſupply, even wants unknown to friends while they faithfully followed Chriſt: and, in ſtriving to ſupply theſe wants, many have exacted on the poor; many have entered on employments, in which they often labour in upholding pride and vanity. Many have looked on one another, and been ſtrengthened in theſe things, one by the example of another; and, as to the pure divine ſeeing, dimneſs hath come over many, and the channels of true brotherly love been obſtructed.

People may have no intention to oppreſs, yet, by entering on expenſive ways of life, their minds may be ſo entangled therein, and ſo engaged to ſupport expenſive cuſtoms, as to be eſtranged from the pure ſympathizing ſpirit.

As I have travelled in England, I have had a tender feeling of the condition of poor people; ſome of whom, though honeſt and induſtrious, have nothing to ſpare toward paying for the ſchooling of their children.

There is a proportion between labour and the neceſſaries of life; and, in true brotherly love, the mind is open to feel after the neceſſities of the poor.

Amongſt the poor, there are ſome that are weak through age, and others of a weakly nature, who paſs through ſtraits, in very private life, without aſking relief from the public.

Such, as are ſtrong and healthy, may do that buſineſs, which, to the weakly, may be oppreſſive; and in performing that, in a day,

which

which is esteemed a day's labour, by weakly persons, in the field and in the shops, and by weakly women who spin and knit in the manufactories, they often pass through weariness; and many sighs, I believe, are uttered in secret, unheard by some who might ease their burdens.

Labour, in the right medium, is healthy; but, in too much of it, there is a painful weariness; and the hardships of the poor are sometimes increased through want of more agreeable nourishment, more plentiful fuel for the fire, and warmer clothing in the winter, than their wages will answer.

When I have seen plenty, in some houses, to a degree of luxury, the condition of poor children brought up without learning, and the condition of the weakly and aged, who strive to live by their labour, have often revived in my mind, as cases of which some, who live in fulness, need to be put in remembrance.

There are few, if any, who could behold their fellow-creatures lie long in distress, and forbear to help them, when they could do it without any inconvenience; but customs, requiring much labour to support them, do often lie heavy on the poor, while they who live in these customs are so entangled in a multitude of unnecessary concerns, that they think but little of the hardships which the poor people go through.

CHAP. III.

On ſilent Worſhip.

WORSHIP in ſilence hath often been refreſhing to my mind, and a care attends me that a young generation may feel the nature of this worſhip.

Great expence ariſeth in relation to that which is called divine worſhip.

A conſiderable part of this expence is applied toward outward greatneſs; and many poor people, in raiſing of tithe, labour in ſupporting cuſtoms contrary to the ſimplicity that there is in Chriſt; toward whom my mind hath often been moved with pity.

In pure ſilent worſhip we dwell under the holy anointing, and feel Chriſt to be our ſhepherd.

Here the beſt of teachers miniſters to the ſeveral conditions of his flock, and the ſoul receives, immediately from the divine fountain, that with which it is nouriſhed.

As I have travelled, at times, where thoſe of other ſocieties have attended our meetings, and have perceived how little ſome of them knew of the nature of ſilent worſhip; I have felt tender deſires in my heart, that we, who often ſit ſilent in our meetings, may live anſwerable to the nature of an inward fellowſhip with God, that no ſtumbling-block, through us, may be laid in their way.

Such

Such is the load of unneceſſary expence, which lieth on that which is called divine ſervice, in many places, and ſo much are the minds of many people employed in outward forms and ceremonies, that the opening of an inward ſilent worſhip, in this nation, to me hath appeared to be a precious opening.

Within the laſt four hundred years, many pious people have been deeply exerciſed in ſoul, on account of the ſuperſtition which prevailed amongſt the profeſſed followers of Chriſt; and, in ſupport of their teſtimony againſt oppreſſive idolatry, ſome, in ſeveral ages, have finiſhed their courſe in the flames.

It appears, by the hiſtory of the reformation, that, through the faithfulneſs of the martyrs, the underſtandings of many have been opened, and the minds of people, from age to age, been more and more prepared for a real ſpiritual worſhip.

My mind is often affected with a ſenſe of the condition of thoſe people, who, in different ages, have been meek and patient, following Chriſt through great afflictions: and, while I behold the ſeveral ſteps of reformation, and that clearneſs to which, through divine goodneſs, it hath been brought by our anceſtors; I feel tender deſires, that we, who ſometimes meet in ſilence, may never, by our conduct, lay ſtumbling-blocks in the way of others, and hinder the progreſs of the reformation in the world.

It was a complaint, againſt ſome who were called the Lord's people, that they brought polluted

polluted bread to his altar, and ſaid the table of the Lord was contemptible.

In real ſilent worſhip, the ſoul feeds on that which is divine; but we cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and that table which is prepared by the God of this world.

If Chriſt is our ſhepherd and feedeth us, and we are faithful in following him, our lives will have an inviting language, and the table of the Lord will not be polluted.

AN

A N

EPISTLE

TO THE

QUARTERLY AND MONTHLY MEETINGS OF FRIENDS.

Beloved Friends,

FEELING, at this time, a renewed concern, that the pure principle of light and life, and the righteous fruits thereof, may ſpread and prevail amongſt mankind, there is an engagement on my heart to labour with my brethren in religious profeſſion, that none of us may be a ſtumbling-block in the way of others; but that we may ſo walk, that our conduct may reach the pure witneſs in the hearts of ſuch as are not in profeſſion with us.

And, dear friends, while we publicly own that the Holy Spirit is our leader, the profeſſion is in itſelf weighty, and the weightineſs thereof increaſeth, in proportion as we are noted among the profeſſors of truth, and

active

active in dealing with ſuch as walk diſorderly.

Many under our profeſſion, for want of due attention and a perfect reſignation to this divine Teacher, have, in ſome things, manifeſted a deviation from the purity of our religious principles; and theſe deviations, having crept in amongſt us by little and little, and increaſing from leſs to greater, have been ſo far unnoticed, that ſome, living in them, have been active in putting diſcipline in practice, with relation to others, whoſe conduct hath appeared more diſhonourable in the world.

Now, as my mind hath been exerciſed before the Lord, I have ſeen that the diſcipline of the church of Chriſt ſtandeth in that which is pure; that it is the wiſdom from above which gives authority to diſcipline; and that the weightineſs thereof ſtandeth not in any outward circumſtances, but in the authority of Chriſt, who is the author of it; and where any walk after the fleſh, and not according to the purity of truth, and at the ſame time are active in putting diſcipline in practice, a veil is gradually drawn over the purity of diſcipline, and over that holineſs of life, which Chriſt leads thoſe into, "in "whom the love of God is verily perfected." 1 John ii. 5.

When we labour in true love with offenders, and they remain obſtinate, it ſometimes is neceſſary to proceed as far as our Lord directed;

rected: "Let him be to thee as an heathen "man, or a publican." Matt. xviii. 17.

Now, when such are disowned, and they who act therein feel Christ made unto them wisdom, and are preserved in his meek restoring spirit, there is no just cause of offence ministered to any: but, when such as are active in dealing with offenders indulge themselves in things which are contrary to the purity of truth, and yet judge others whose conduct appears more dishonourable than theirs, here the pure authority of discipline ceaseth as to such offenders, and a temptation is laid in their way to wrangle and contend: — "Judge not," said our Lord, "that "ye be not judged." Now, this forbidding alludes to man's judgement, and points out the necessity of our humbly attending to that sanctifying power under which the faithful experience the Lord to be "a spirit of judge-"ment to them." Isa. xxviii. 6. And, as we feel his Holy Spirit to mortify the deeds of the body in us, and can say, "It is no more I that "live, but Christ that liveth in me," here right judgement is known.

And, while divine love prevails in our hearts, and self in us is brought under judgement, a preparation is felt to labour in a right manner with offenders: but, if we abide not in this love, our outward performance in dealing with others degenerates into formality; for "this is the love of God, that we keep his "commandments." John i. 3.

How

How weighty are thoſe inſtructions of our Redeemer, concerning religious duties, when he points out that they, who pray, ſhould be ſo obedient to the teachings of the Holy Spirit, that, humbly confiding in his help, they may ſay, "Thy name, O Father, be hallowed! "thy kingdom come; thy will be done on "earth as it is heaven." — In this awful ſtate of mind is felt that worſhip which ſtands in doing the will of God, on earth, as it is done in heaven, and keeping the holy name ſacred. To take a holy profeſſion upon us is awful; nor can we keep this holy name ſacred but by humbly abiding under the croſs of Chriſt. The apoſtle made a heavy complaint againſt ſome, who prophaned this holy name by their manner of living: "Through "you (he ſays) the name of God is blaſphe-"med amongſt the Gentiles." Rom. ii. 24.

Some of our anceſtors, through many tribulations, were gathered into the ſtate of true worſhippers, and had fellowſhip in that which is pure; and, as one was inwardly moved to kneel down in their aſſemblies and publicly call on the name of the Lord, thoſe in the harmony of united exerciſe, then preſent, joined in the prayer; I mention this in order that we, of the preſent age, may look unto the Rock from whence we were hewn, and remember that to unite in worſhip is a union in prayer, and that prayer, acceptable to the Father, is only in a mind truly ſanctified, where the ſacred name is kept holy, and the heart reſigned to do his will on earth as

it is done in heaven: "If ye abide in me," ſaith Chriſt, "and my words abide in you, "ye ſhall aſk what ye will in my name, "and it ſhall be done unto you."—Now, we know not what to pray for as we ought, but as the Holy Spirit doth open and direct our minds, and, as we faithfully yield to its influences, our prayers are in the will of our heavenly Father, who fails not to grant that which his own ſpirit, through his children, aſketh;—thus preſervation from ſin is known, and the fruits of righteouſneſs are brought forth by ſuch as inwardly unite in prayer.

How weighty are our ſolemn meetings when the name of Chriſt is kept holy?

"How precious is that ſtate, in which the children of the Lord are ſo redeemed from the love of this world, that they are accepted and bleſſed in all that they do." R. Barclay's Apology, p. 404.

How neceſſary is it that we, who profeſs theſe principles, and are outwardly active in ſupporting them, ſhould faithfully abide in divine ſtrength, that "As He, who hath call-"ed us, is holy, ſo we may be holy in all "manner of converſation." 1 Pet. i. 15.

If one, profeſſing to be influenced by the ſpirit of Chriſt, propoſeth to unite in a labour to promote righteouſneſs in the earth, and in time paſt he hath manifeſtly deviated from the path of equity, then, to act conſiſtent with this principle, his firſt work is to make reſtitution ſo far as he may enabled; for, if he attempts to contribute toward a work, intend-

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ed to promote righteouſneſs, while it appears that he neglecteth or refuſeth to act righteouſly himſelf, his conduct has a tendency to entangle the minds of thoſe who are weak in the faith, who behold theſe things, and to draw a veil over the purity of righteouſneſs, by carrying an appearance as though that was righteouſneſs which is not.

Again, if I propoſe to aſſiſt in ſupporting thoſe doctrines wherein that purity of life is held forth in which cuſtoms, proceeding from the ſpirit of this world, have no place, and, at the ſame time, to ſtrengthen others in thoſe cuſtoms, by my example; the firſt ſtep, then, in an orderly proceeding, is, to ceaſe from thoſe cuſtoms myſelf, and, afterwards, to labour, as I may be enabled, to promote the like diſpoſition and conduct in others.

To be convinced of the pure principle of truth, and diligently exerciſed in walking anſwerably thereto, is neceſſary, before I can conſiſtently recommend this principle to others. — I often feel a labour in ſpirit, that we, who are active members in religious ſociety, may experience in ourſelves the truth of thoſe expreſſions of the Holy One, "I "will be ſanctified in them that come nigh "me." Lev. x. 3. In this caſe, my mind hath been often exerciſed, when alone, year after year, for many years, and, in the renewings of divine love, a tender care hath been incited in me, that we, who profeſs the inward principle of light to be our teacher, may be a family, united in that purity of

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worſhip which comprehends a holy life and miniſters inſtruction to others.

My mind is often drawn toward children in the truth, who, having a ſmall ſhare of the things of this life and coming to have families, may be inwardly exerciſed before the Lord to ſupport them in a way agreeable to the purity of truth, in which they may feel his bleſſing upon them in their labours: the thoughts of ſuch being entangled with cuſtoms, (contrary to pure wiſdom,) conveyed to them through our hands, doth often very tenderly and movingly affect my heart; and, when I look toward, and think on, the ſucceeding generation, fervent deſires are raiſed in me, that we, by yielding to that Holy Spirit which leads into all truth, may not do the work of the Lord deceitfully, may not live contrary to the purity of the divine principle we profeſs, but that, as faithful labourers in our age, we may be inſtrumental in removing ſtumbling-blocks out of the way of thoſe who may ſucceed us.

So great was the love of Chriſt, that he gave himſelf for the church, "that he might "ſanctify and cleanſe it, that it ſhould be "holy and without blemiſh, not having "ſpot or wrinkle or any ſuch thing." Eph. v. 25. And, where any take the name of Chriſt upon them, profeſſing to be members of his church and led by his Holy Spirit, and yet manifeſtly deviate from the purity of truth, they herein act againſt the gracious deſign of his giving himſelf for them, and

miniſter cauſe for the continuance of his afflictions, *viz.* in his body, the church.

Chriſt ſuffered afflictions in a body of fleſh, prepared by the Father; but the afflictions of his myſtical body are yet unfiniſhed; for they, who are baptized into Chriſt, are baptized into his death; and, as we humbly abide under his ſanctifying power, and are brought forth into newneſs of life, we feel Chriſt to live in us; who being the ſame yeſterday, to-day, and for ever, and always at unity with himſelf, his ſpirit, in the hearts of his people, leads to an inward exerciſe for the ſalvation of mankind: and when, under a travail of ſpirit, we behold a viſited people entangled by the ſpirit of this world, with its wickedneſs and cuſtoms, and thereby rendered incapable of being faithful examples to others, ſorrow and heavineſs, under a ſenſe of theſe things, are often experienced; and thus, in ſome meaſure, is filled up that which remains of the afflictions of Chriſt.

Our bleſſed Saviour, ſpeaking concerning gifts offered in divine ſervice, ſays, "If "thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there "remembereſt that thy brother hath ought "againſt thee, leave there thy gift, before the "altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconci-"led to thy brother, and then come and "offer thy gift." Mat. v. 23, 24. Now, there is no true unity but in that wherein the Father and the Son are united; nor can there be a perfect reconciliation but in ceaſing from that which miniſters cauſe for the continuation

tinuation of the afflictions of Chriſt; and if any, profeſſing to bring their gift to the altar, do remember the cuſtomary contradiction which ſome of their fruits bear to the pure ſpiritual worſhip, here it appears neceſſary to lay to heart this command, "Leave thy gift "by the altar."

Chriſt graciouſly calls his people brethren: "Whoſoever ſhall do the will of God, the ſame "is my brother." Mark iii. 35. Now, if we walk contrary to the truth, as it is in Jeſus, while we continue to profeſs it, we offend againſt Chriſt; and if, under this offence, we bring our gift to the altar, our Redeemer doth not direct us to take back our gift, he doth not diſcourage our proceeding in a good work, but graciouſly points out the neceſſary means by which the gift may be rendered acceptable: "Leave (ſaith he) thy gift by "the altar: firſt go and be reconciled to thy "brother;" ceaſe from that which grieves the Holy Spirit, ceaſe from that which is againſt the truth, as it is in Jeſus, and then come and offer thy gift.

I feel, while I am writing, a tenderneſs to thoſe, who, through divine favour, are preſerved in a lively ſenſe of the ſtate of the churches, and at times may be under diſcouragements with regard to proceeding in that pure way which Chriſt, by his Holy Spirit, leads into. The depth of diſorder and weakneſs, which ſo much prevail, being opened, doubtings are apt to ariſe, as to the poſſibility of proceeding as an aſſembly of

the Lord's people in the pure counſel of truth; and here I feel a concern to expreſs, in uprightneſs, that which hath been opened in my mind, under the power of the croſs of Chriſt, relating to a viſible gathered church, the members whereof are guided by the Holy Spirit.

The church is called the body of Chriſt, Col. i. 25.

Chriſt is called the head of the Church, Eph. i. 22.

The church is called the pillar and ground of truth, 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Thus the church hath a name that is ſacred, and the neceſſity of keeping this name holy appears evident; for, where a number of people unite in a profeſſion of being led by the ſpirit of Chriſt, and publiſh their principles to the world, the acts and proceedings of that people may in ſome meaſure be conſidered as ſuch which Chriſt is the author of.

Now, while we ſtand in this ſtation, if the pure light of life is not followed and regarded in our proceedings, we are in the way of prophaning the holy Name, and of going back toward that wilderneſs of ſufferings and perſecution, out of which, through the tender mercies of God, a church hath been gathered; "Chriſt liveth in ſanctified veſſels," Gal. ii. 20. and where they behold his holy name profaned, and the pure goſpel light eclipſed through the unfaithfulneſs of any who, by their ſtation, appear to be ſtandard-bearers under the Prince of Peace, the living members

bers in the body of Chriſt, in beholding theſe things, do in ſome degree experience the fellowſhip of his ſufferings; and, as the wiſdom of the world more and more takes place in conducting the affairs of this viſible gathered church, and the pure leadings of the Holy Spirit are leſs waited for and followed, ſo the true ſuffering ſeed is more and more oppreſſed.

My mind is often affected with a ſenſe of the condition of ſincere-hearted people in ſome kingdoms, where liberty of conſcience is not allowed, many of whom, being burthened in their minds with prevailing ſuperſtition, joined with oppreſſions, are often under ſorrow; and where ſuch have attended to that pure light, which hath in ſome degree opened their underſtandings, and, for their faithfulneſs thereto, have been brought to examination and trial, how heavy are the perſecutions which in divers parts of the world are exerciſed upon them! How mighty, as to the outward, is that power by which they are borne down and oppreſſed!

How deeply affecting is the condition of many upright-hearted people who are taken into the papal inquiſition! What lamentable cruelties, in deep vaults, in a private way, are exerciſed on many of them! and how lingering is that death, by a ſmall ſlow fire, which they have frequently endured who have been faithful to the end!

How many tender-ſpirited proteſtants have been ſentenced to ſpend the remainder of their

lives in a galley chained to oars, under hard-hearted maſters, while their young children are placed out for education, and taught principles ſo contrary to the conſciences of the parents, that, by diſſenting from them, they have hazarded their liberty, lives, and all that was dear to them of the things of this world!

There have been in time paſt ſevere perſecutions under the Engliſh government, and many ſincere-hearted people have ſuffered death for the teſtimony of a good conſcience, whoſe faithfulneſs in their day hath miniſtred encouragement to others, and been a bleſſing to many who have ſucceeded them; thus, from age to age, the darkneſs being more and more removed, a channel at length, through the tender mercies of God, hath been opened for the exerciſe of the pure gift of the goſpel miniſtry, without interruption from outward power; a work, the like of which is rare, and unknown in many parts of the world!

As theſe things are often freſh in my mind, and this great work of God going on in the earth has been open before me, that liberty of conſcience, with which we are favoured, hath appeared not as a light matter.

A truſt is committed to us, a great and weighty truſt, to which our diligent attention is neceſſary: wherever the active members of this viſible gathered church uſe themſelves to that which is contrary to the purity of our principles, it appears to be a breach of this truſt, and one ſtep back toward the wilder-

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neſs, one ſtep toward undoing what God in infinite love hath done, through his faithful ſervants, in a work of ſeveral ages, and is like laying the foundation for future ſufferings.

I feel a living invitation in my mind to ſuch as are active in our religious ſociety, that we may lay to heart this matter, and conſider the ſtation in which we ſtand; a place of outward liberty under the free exerciſe of our conſcience toward God, not obtained but through great and manifold afflictions of thoſe who lived before us. There is gratitude due from us to our heavenly Father, and juſtice to our poſterity; can our hearts endure, or our hands be ſtrong, if we deſert a cauſe ſo precious, if we turn aſide from a work under which ſo many have patiently laboured?

May the deep ſufferings of our Saviour be ſo dear to us, that we may never trample under foot the adorable Son of God, nor count the blood of the covenant unholy!

May the faithfulneſs of the martyrs, when the proſpect of death by fire was before them, be remembered! and may the patient conſtant ſufferings of the upright-hearted ſervants of God in latter ages be revived in our minds! and may we ſo follow on to know the Lord, that neither the faithful in this age, nor thoſe in ages to come, may ever be brought under ſuffering, through our fliding back from the work of reformation in the world!

While the active members in the visible gathered church stand upright, and the affairs thereof are carried on under the leadings of the Holy Spirit, although disorders may arise among us, and cause many exercises to those who feel the care of the churches upon them, yet, while these continue under the weight of the work, and labour in the meekness of wisdom for the help of others, the name of Christ in the visible gathered church may be kept sacred; but while they, who are active in the affairs of this church, continue in a manifest opposition to the purity of our principles, this, as the prophet Isaiah, x. 18. expresseth it, is like "as when a standard-bear-"er fainteth:" and thus the way opens to great and prevailing degeneracy, and to sufferings for such as, through the power of divine love, are separated to the gospel of Christ, and cannot unite with any thing which stands in opposition to the purity of it.

The necessity of an inward stillness hath under these exercises appeared clear to my mind; in true silence strength is renewed, the mind herein is weaned from all things, but as they may be enjoyed in the divine will, and a lowliness in outward living, opposite to worldly honour, becomes truly acceptable to us. In the desire after outward gain, the mind is prevented from a perfect attention to the voice of Christ; but, being weaned from all things but as they may be enjoyed in the divine will, the pure light shines into the soul: and, where the fruits of

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that ſpirit which is of this world are brought forth by many who profeſs to be led by the ſpirit of truth, and cloudineſs is felt to be gathering over the viſible gathered church, the ſincere in heart, who abide in true ſtillneſs, and are exerciſed therein before the Lord for his name's ſake, have a knowledge of Chriſt in the fellowſhip of his ſufferings, and inward thankfulneſs is felt at times, that, through divine love, our own wiſdom is caſt out, and that forward active part in us ſubjected, which would riſe and do ſomething in the viſible gathered church, without the pure leadings of the Spirit of Chriſt.

While aught remains in us different from a perfect reſignation of our wills, it is like a ſeal to a book, wherein is written "that good, "and acceptable, and perfect, will of God "concerning us," Rom. xii. 2. but, when our minds entirely yield to Chriſt, that ſilence is known, which followeth the opening of the laſt of the ſeals, Rev. viii. 1. in this ſilence we learn abiding in the divine will, and there feel that we have no cauſe to promote but that only in which the light of life directs us in our proceedings, and that the alone way to be uſeful, in the church of Chriſt, is to abide faithfully under the leadings of his Holy Spirit in all caſes, and, being preſerved thereby in purity of heart and holineſs of converſation, a teſtimony to the purity of his government may be held forth, through us, to others.

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As my mind hath been thus exerciſed, I have ſeen that, to be active and buſy in the viſible gathered church, without the leadings of the Holy Spirit, is not only unprofitable, but tends to increaſe dimneſs; and, where way is not opened to proceed in the light of truth, a ſtop is felt by thoſe who humbly attend to the divine Leader; a ſtop which, in relation to good order in the viſible gathered church, is of the greateſt conſequence to be obſerved: thus Robert Barclay, in his treatiſe on diſcipline, holds forth, pages 65, 68, 84. "That the judgement, or concluſion, of the church, or congregation, is no farther effectual, as to the true end and deſign thereof, but as ſuch judgement, or concluſion, proceeds from the Spirit of God, operating on their minds who are ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus."

Now, in this ſtop, I have learned the neceſſity of waiting on the Lord in humility, that the works of all may be brought to light, and thoſe to judgement which are wrought in the wiſdom of this world; and have alſo ſeen that, in a mind thoroughly ſubjected to the power of the croſs, there is a ſavour of life to be felt, which evidently tends to gather ſouls to God, while the greateſt works in the viſible gathered church, brought forth in man's wiſdom, remain to be unprofitable.

Where people are divinely gathered into a holy fellowſhip, and faithfully abide under the influence of that Spirit which leads into all truth, "they are the light of the world." Matt. v. 14. Now, holding this profeſſion, to

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me, hath appeared weighty, even beyond what I can fully expreſs, and what our bleſſed Lord ſeemed to have in view, when he propoſed the neceſſity of counting the coſt before we begin to build.

I truſt there are many who, at times, under divine viſitation, feel an inward enquiry after God; and when ſuch, in the ſimplicity of their hearts, mark the lives of a people who profeſs to walk by the leadings of his Spirit, of what great concernment is it that our lights ſhine clear, that nothing of our conduct carry a contradiction to the truth as it is in Jeſus, or be a means of profaning his holy name, and be a ſtumbling-block in the way of thoſe ſincere enquirers.

When ſuch ſeekers as, wearied with empty forms, look toward uniting with us as a people, and behold active members among us depart, in their cuſtomary way of living, from that purity of life, which, under humbling exerciſes, hath been opened before them as the way of the Lord's people, how mournful and diſcouraging is the proſpect! and how ſtrongly doth ſuch unfaithfulneſs operate againſt the ſpreading of the peaceable harmonious principle and teſtimony of truth amongſt mankind!

In entering into that life, which is hid with Chriſt in God, we behold his peaceable government, where the whole family are governed by the ſame ſpirit, and the "doing "to others as we would they ſhould do un-"to us" groweth up as good fruit from a

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good tree, the peace, quietneſs, and harmonious walking, in this government is beheld with humble reverence to him who is the author of it; and, in partaking of the Spirit of Chriſt, we partake of that which labours, and ſuffers for the increaſe of this peaceable government among the inhabitants of the world; and I have felt a labour of long continuance that we, who profeſs this peaceable principle, may be faithful ſtandard-bearers under the Prince of peace, and that nothing of a defiling nature, tending to diſcord and wars, may remain among us.

May each of us query with ourſelves, Have the treaſures I poſſeſs, been gathered in that wiſdom which is from above, ſo far as hath appeared to me?

Have none of my fellow-creatures an equitable right to any part which is called mine?

Have the gifts and poſſeſſions, received by me from others, been conveyed in a way free from all unrighteouſneſs ſo far as I have ſeen?

The principle of peace, in which our truſt is only on the Lord, and our minds weaned from a dependence on the ſtrength of armies, hath appeared to me very precious, and I often feel ſtrong deſires, that we, who profeſs this principle, may ſo walk, as to give juſt cauſe for none of our fellow-creatures to be offended at us; that our lives may evidently manifeſt, that we are redeemed from that ſpirit in which wars are: our bleſſed Saviour, in pointing out the danger of ſo

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leaning on man, as to neglect the leadings of his Holy Spirit, ſaid, "Call no man your "father upon the earth; for one is your fa- "ther, which is in heaven," Mat. xxiii. 9. Where the wiſdom from above is faithfully followed, and therein we are entruſted with ſubſtance, it is a treaſure committed to our care in the nature of an inheritance, as an inheritance from him, who formed, and ſupports, the world. Now, in this condition, the true enjoyment of the good things of this life is underſtood, and that bleſſing felt, in which is real ſafety; this is what I apprehend our bleſſed Lord had in view, when he pronounced, "Bleſſed are the meek, for they ſhall inherit "the earth."

Selfiſh worldly-minded men may hold lands in the ſelfiſh ſpirit, and, depending on the ſtrength of the outward power, be perplexed with ſecret uneaſineſs, leſt the injured ſhould ſometime overpower them, and that meaſure be meted to them, which they meaſure to others. —Thus ſelfiſh men may poſſeſs the earth; but it is the meek who inherit it, and enjoy it as an inheritance from the heavenly Father, free from all the defilements and perplexities of unrighteouſneſs.

Where proceedings have been in that wiſdom which is from beneath, and inequitable gain is gathered by a man, and left as a gift to his children, who, being entangled by the ſame worldly ſpirit, have not attained to that clearneſs of light in which the channels of righteouſneſs are opened, and juſtice is done to

thoſe who remain ſilent under injuries: here I have ſeen, under humbling exerciſe of mind, that the ſins of the fathers are embraced by the children, and become their ſins; and thus, in the days of tribulation, the iniquities of the fathers are viſited upon theſe children, who take hold of the unrighteouſneſs of their fathers, and live in that ſpirit in which thoſe iniquities were committed; to which agreeth the prophecy of Moſes, concerning a rebellious people: "They that are left of you "ſhall pine away in their iniquities, in your "enemy's land, and in the iniquities of their "fathers ſhall they pine away." Lev. xxvi. 39. And our bleſſed Lord, in beholding the hardneſs of heart in that generation, and feeling in himſelf, that they lived in the ſame ſpirit in which the prophets had been perſecuted unto death, ſignified, "that the blood of all "the prophets, which was ſhed from the "foundation of the world, ſhould be requir-"ed of that generation, from the blood of "Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, which "periſhed between the altar and the temple." Luke xi. 51.

Tender compaſſion fills my heart toward my fellow-creatures eſtranged from the harmonious government of the Prince of peace, and a labour attends me, that they may be gathered to this peaceable habitation.

In being inwardly prepared to ſuffer adverſity for Chriſt's ſake, and weaned from a dependence on the arm of fleſh, we feel, that there is a reſt for the people of God, and

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that it ſtands in a perfect reſignation of ourſelves to his holy will; in this condition, all our wants and deſires are bounded by pure wiſdom, and our minds wholly attentive to the council of Chriſt inwardly communicated, which hath appeared to me as a habitation of ſafety for the Lord's people, in times of outward commotion and trouble, and deſires, from the fountain of pure love, are opened in me, to invite my brethren and fellow-creatures to feel for, and ſeek after, that which gathers the mind into it.

Mount-Holly, New-Jerſey,
4th Month, 1772.

JOHN WOOLMAN.

THE END.

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